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STUDIES IN THE RENAISSANCE

EDITED BY M. A. SHAABER

VOLUME V

PUBLICATIONS OF
THE RENAISSANCE SOCIETY OF AMERICA
NEW YORK · MCMLVIII

47444

v.5
1958

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FOREWORD

PART of the cost of the publication of this volume of *Studies in the Renaissance* has been defrayed by gifts made for the purpose by Curt F. Bühler, Mrs. John D. Gordan, and Thomas W. Streeter, to whom the society expresses its grateful appreciation.

The society is also indebted to the following members who, in addition to the Editorial Board, have read some of the material submitted for publication: Lawrence Babb, Otis H. Green, James Hutton, H. W. Janson, William H. J. Kennedy, Beatrice R. Reynolds.

A sixth volume of *Studies in the Renaissance* may be expected early in 1959. Members who wish to submit papers for the consideration of the Editorial Board are invited to do so without delay.

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An Eclogue of Giovanni Quatrario

F THE six Latin eclogues of Giovanni Quatrario of Sulmona[1] (1336–1402), the second is a pastoral dialogue between a boy and an old shepherd who on closer inspection prove to be Quatrario himself and Francesco Petrarca. The poem, ill-written though it is,[2] has considerable intrinsic interest and even some importance for the history of humanism, showing as it does the veneration felt among younger men for the dean of Italian (and more especially neo-Latin) letters; but to explain both its odd tone and its position in neo-Latin literature it is necessary to deal briefly with some matters of background.

Dante, while still living in exile at Ravenna, was the first of the prehumanists to resuscitate Latin eclogue,[3] in the course of his poetical correspondence[4] (1319–1321) with Giovanni del Virgilio of Bologna (who also addressed a letter in the form of an eclogue in 1325 to Albertino

[1] Cf. Giovanni Pansa, *Giovanni Quatrario di Sulmona: Contributo alla storia dell' umanesimo* (Sulmona, 1912).

[2] In this it is not unique: Quatrario's style is usually obscure, awkward, unidiomatic, and occasionally downright incomprehensible; sentence structure sometimes sprawls; the author displays little real aptitude for the tricks of rhetoric, and produces a good many unmetrical hexameters. Pansa's text is no aid to comprehension: misprints are everywhere, words are sometimes wrongly divided (e.g., in one place *pendetque* should be *pendet quae*), and the division between speakers is occasionally incorrect; retention of the manuscript punctuation is of interest to the palaeographer, no doubt, but is only a hindrance to ordinary mortals.

[3] Medieval Latin eclogues exist, it is true, but most are not at all Virgilian: cf. E. Carrara, *La poesia pastorale* (Milan, 1907), pp. 40–67; Betty Nye Hyberg, 'The *Bucolics* and the Mediaeval Poetical Debate', *TAPA* LXXV (1944), 47–67 and abundant literature there cited; E. Faye Wilson, 'Pastoral and Epithalamium in Latin Literature', *Speculum* XXIII (1948), 35–57.

[4] Cf. P. H. Wicksteed and G. E. Gardiner, *Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio* (Westminster, 1902) and G. Albini, *L'egloga di Giovanni del Virgilio ad Albertino Mussato* (Bologna, 1925).

Mussato of Padua), and a similar pastoral exchange took place in 1347–1348 between Giovanni Boccaccio and Cecco di Mileto (i.e., Francesco de' Rossi) of Forlì, which is also extant.[5] This development of epistolary eclogue was cut short[6] by Petrarch, whose twelve bucolic poems[7] (1346–1359) are very different indeed. Petrarch was firmly convinced—at least so far as concerned pastoral—that the more mysteriously cryptic the poem the better the poet;[8] the result is that his bucolic poems are a mass of riddling symbols, bewildering at first reading. He himself tells us (*Epp. variae* xlii) that bucolic poetry is such that it can be understood only if the author explains it, and he accordingly supplied a key for a number of the poems in letters (e.g., *Epp. var.* xlix) addressed to admiring but puzzled friends. Fortunately there are extant full commentaries on all the poems by fourteenth-century scholars, who achieved critical reputations by explaining the worst of the difficulties.

In this deplorable view of eclogue Petrarch was followed by all subsequent writers of pastoral in the fourteenth century. Of the sixteen eclogues (1348–*ca.* 1368) in Giovanni Boccaccio's *Bucolicum carmen* the great majority were written under the overwhelming influence of Petrarch. In 1374 (the date is not certain) Boccaccio briefly explained his views on pastoral in a letter addressed to Fra Martino da Signa, and obligingly supplied a key to all the poems. The explanations are only partial, however, and generally tell us no more than the theme or point of each poem; there is still much that requires detailed elucidation. It is worth emphasizing that Boccaccio regarded the *Bucolicum carmen* as one of his major works: he was occupied with pastoral poetry for twenty years and spent a good two or three years on final revision.

After Boccaccio fourteenth-century Latin pastoral declined rapidly. The eight eclogues of Coluccio Salutati of Stignano are lost, as are the

[5] Cf. A. Massèra, *Giovanni Boccaccio: Opere latini minori* (Bari, 1928), pp. 89–95; Boccaccio's sixteen finished eclogues are on pp. 3–85. Cecco's two eclogues appear in Giovanni Bottari (the editorship has also been attributed to Tommaso Buonaventuri), *Carmina illustrium poetarum Italorum* (Florence, 1719-1726), VI, 315–318; cf. also Massèra, pp. 290–291 and 304–305, and Carrara in *Giorn. stor.* XLIII (1904), 13–21.

[6] In the period 1325–1800 I know of only two other epistolary eclogues—one by Fausto Andrelini and the other by Joannes Leochaeus (John Leech of Montrose and Aberdeen).

[7] The best modern text is A. Avena, 'Il *Bucolicum carmen* e i suoi commenti' in *Padova in onore di Francesco Petrarca*, vol. I (Padua, 1906), in which the scholia appear in full.

[8] On the nature of cryptic pastoral cf. my 'Early Neo-Latin Pastoral', *Phoenix* IX (1955), 19–26; Pansa, *op. cit.*, pp. 6 and 200–201; A. de Hortis, *Scritti inediti di Francesco Petrarca* (Trieste, 1884), pp. 221–222; Petrarch, *Epp. fam. rer.* X, 4; *Epp. var.* xlii. Cf. also Alice Sperduti, *Petrarch on Poetry* (Cornell Univ. Press, 1947), pp. 15–18.

occasional pastoral poems of Tommaso Rigo of Perugia, Domenico Silvestri of Prato, and Giacobbe Allegretti of Forlì.[9] Salutati's eclogues must certainly have been cryptic, in the Petrarchan tradition: in 1372 he sent from Lucca a fair copy of his first eclogue to Boccaccio and explained its obscurities at length in a highly revealing letter that is still extant.[10] The probability that the poems of the others mentioned were cryptic is overwhelming.

We do, however, find extant a group of ten miserable eclogues written between 1355 and 1378 by an anonymous poet[11] from the Venetian territory, clearly a dependent or one who hoped to become a dependent of the Visconti family. Most of the ten are turgid productions indeed, and one of them bears the dubious distinction of being in all probability the most nauseatingly fulsome panegyric in neo-Latin literature. Their one virtue is that they are not quite so difficult to read as most fourteenth-century pastorals.

An equally dispiriting *corpus* of bucolic poems is made up of ten pastorals written between 1385 and 1395 by Giovanni de Bonis of Arezzo,[12] a lawyer who angled assiduously for advancement first from Antoniotto Adorno of Genoa and then from the Visconti family. Like the *anonymus Venetus*, he had read the poems of Petrarch and Boccaccio with care, and imitated them sedulously. All the poems are allegorical and cryptic; the only unusual poem is one in which the characters of the dialogue are not shepherds or even human beings at all, but a stallion (representing the town of Arezzo) and a terrified deer (a refugee from the sack of Arezzo in 1381); the poem is called an eclogue, to be sure, but it is a curious mixture of allegory, beast-fable, and even epic, for in the description of the sack of Arezzo de Bonis borrows wholesale from the second book of the *Aeneid*.

Earlier than de Bonis and scarcely more successful as a poet was Giovanni Quatrario of Sulmona (1336–1402), who was appointed papal secretary to Urban VI in 1383 and (to judge from the terms of his last will and testament, written in 1399) thereafter prospered famously. Coming as he did from the same town as Marco Barbato, chancellor of the Kingdom of Naples and close friend of Petrarch, he learned early of

[9] On these cf. Carrara, *La poesia pastorale*, pp. 142–143.

[10] Francesco Novati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati* (Rome, 1891 ff.), I, 150–151 (*Epp.* III, 9).

[11] They were for long falsely attributed to Albertino Mussato; the text appears in Osio's 1636 (Venice) edition of Mussato's poems.

[12] Cf. Carrara in *Archivio storico lombardo* XXV (1898).

the Petrarchan form of eclogue,[13] and eventually gained an introduction to Petrarch himself,[14] perhaps before Barbato's death in 1363. In the six eclogues (nearly all ostentatiously cryptic, for Quatrario was *plus catholique que le pape lui-même*) we hear much of Petrarch and Barbato; we hear even more of Naples: most of the eclogues deal with events occurring at the Angevin court of Naples after the death of King Robert the Wise in 1343, particularly as they affected his granddaughter, Giovanna I. Quatrario's intention was to describe past and present occurrences as part of a nexus of conventional pastoral situations, at the same time using those situations to portray allegorically and cryptically various political, religious, and ethical notions, most of them as conventional as the situations themselves.

The least complicated of the six is our second eclogue. Like many later eclogues of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, it is simply a disguised panegyric of poetry and of one poet in particular, expressed as a dialogue in the fairly transparent pastoral cipher of *mascarade bucolique*. There is no quasi-dramatic introduction giving the setting or scene of the poem; the entire 107 lines consist of dialogue. Clearly, however, the boy of the dialogue has been wandering in the late afternoon over sheep-pastures; as he makes his way uphill towards the woods, he passes a flock of resting sheep herded by several underlings while the shepherd himself takes his ease in a nearby cave. The boy delightedly recognizes the old man and bursts into an excited greeting (lines 1–4).

'At last', cries the boy, 'I have met you and can greet you face to face!' The old man smiles kindly at the boy and hopes that Pan (this probably means Christ, as it frequently does in Petrarch and Boccaccio; similarly Pales constantly represents the Virgin Mary in fourteenth-century pastoral) will bless him and increase his flocks (i.e., enable him to devote the rest of his life to the muses: the word 'flocks' frequently has such a meaning—sometimes, however, as in Boccaccio's sixteenth eclogue, it refers to individual bucolic poems). The boy asks the old shepherd to play the reed-pipe that hangs from his shoulder; the old man agrees to perform and to sing as well, but insists that the boy sing first. Much

[13] Petrarch sent a revised copy of the poems to Barbato in 1359: cf. V. Rossi and U. Bosco, *Francesco Petrarca: Le familiari* (Florence, 1933 ff.) IV, 351 (col. 2, *ad fin.*).

[14] He also knew Coluccio Salutati well, and the great chancellor of Florence had a very high opinion of his abilities: the tone of the four extant letters which Salutati wrote to Quatrario (cf. Novati, *op. cit.*, I, 63–71 and III, 368) is familiar, confidential, and admiring —one is headed 'eloquenti viro musarumque amico Iohanni Quatrario Sulmonensi fratri carissimo et optimo'.

mock-modesty on the boy's part follows, with a request that the old shepherd spare his inexperience: 'I pray you to spare me', adds the boy, 'by Pythias, your old friend near Vesuvius,[15] and by the muses, whom you know so well':

> tu miserere, precor: tempus concede canendi,
> (tantisper dum pulmo suos reprehendit hiatus)[16]
> et cane quaesitum: puero mollesce precanti,
> per Pythiam comitemque[17] tuum sub lustra Vesevi,
> per si quid duplici latitat tibi vertice montis:[18]
> scis ubi quo Bacchus residet, quo vernat Apollo.[19]

At this point the old shepherd puts off singing for the moment to ask whether the boy does not come from the 'Paelignian valley' as had his old friend of long ago, that valley made lovely by its streams.[20] The boy answers politely but continues to press for a song and music (44–45):

> iam video nihilum voluit natura latere
> magna senem; indiginae puero, precor, esto benignus.

The old man agrees at last to sing for the boy, who promptly bursts

[15] The reference is to Petrarch's visit to Naples in 1343, as envoy of Clement VI; his purpose was to point out that the provisions of King Robert's will in regard to the guardianship of Giovanna I—she was barely nineteen at the time of her grandfather's death—were not being carried out. At the same time he had been commissioned by his friend and patron, Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, to protest the imprisonment of Giovanni, Pietro, and Luigi Pipino, incarcerated by King Robert for acts of violence committed in the course of a feud with the Del Marra family. Petrarch was not hopeful of success in this second duty; but the three brothers were actually released in 1344. What success he may have had as papal envoy is quite unknown. These matters can all be seen through a glass darkly in Quatrario's first eclogue, the characters of which are Arrius (Barbato), Menalcas (Philippe de Cabassoles, Bishop of Cavaillon?), Thyrsis (some young friend of Barbato), and Daphnis (Petrarch).

[16] I.e., until my heart stops beating with excitement and I can catch my breath. The indicative here and those in line 39 are characteristic of fourteenth-century Latin.

[17] Quatrario, like Petrarch, was fond of the *et* or *-que* of equivalence: 'Pythias, that is to say, your friend.'

[18] Mount Parnassus, several times described at length and with innumerable flourishes of rhetoric by Petrarch and Boccaccio.

[19] *Ecl.* II, 34–39.

[20]
> Qua regione puer, de qua te valle feremus?
> credo equidem, Paeligna fuit, formosior undis,
> quae mihi quem memoras comitem dedit ante Vesevo:
> hic tibi forte sacri cantabat nomine montis. (40–43)

The phrase *formosior undis* is no doubt intended to recall Ovid's 'Sulmo mihi patria est, gelidis uberrimus undis' (*Tristia* IV, 10, 3). The *ante* of line 42 perhaps suggests that the dramatic date of this poem is late, well after 1363. In 43 *nomine montis* is practically equivalent to *de monte* (sc. *Parnasso*, i.e., *de poesia*: Barbato had in fact actively encouraged Quatrario in his study of Latin poetry).

into an excited (and highly significant) torrent of delighted self-congratulation:[21] 'Happy indeed shall I be, if I can gain such a favor of a venerable man! Even the fleeces bequeathed to me after my father's death will be as nothing, and my woods, neglected, shall (for all I care) be stripped of their timber; let my vines, too, be despised and hold up their rewards for others; let the refreshing fruits from my orchard attract the hands and eyes of others; let my sheepfold, once full, now be closed by my servants, for you, old man, have for long been my only interest in life—let this cave, in which you spend your retirement[22] eventually overwhelm me in the tomb[23]—yet may you live on beyond the limits of my life.' And then the boy again urges the shepherd to sing:[24] 'Sing on: even a brief delay exhausts one who is waiting; my whole awareness shall be concentrated into my eager hearing.'

The shepherd's song (63–77) proves to be an elaborate and rather embarrassing piece of auto-panegyric;[25] in brief, and stripped of its thick coating of symbolism, it runs as follows: 'My shepherd's pipe, sing with me the praises of this lovely flock,[26] for I was the one who first gave it

[21] O felix, si tanta detur mihi copia patris!
vilescent transmissa mihi de morte parentis
vellera, et incultae dempsentur stipite silvae.
suspendant aliis spretae sua munera vites,
alliciuntque manus oculosque levantia poma,
et quondam plenum pueris claudatur ovile.
tu mihi cura, senex, longum, tua me antra sepulcro
accumulent; vitae restes post tempora nostrae.

[22] It depends on the poem's date whether this refers to Parma, Milan, Padua, or Arquà: but the last is the most likely: cf. *Ecl.* iii, 110.

[23] I.e., I wish to be buried near your home.

[24] O cane! debilitat dilatio parva morantem;
omnis in arrectas sensus glomerabitur aures. (61–62)

[25] Actually no more remarkable than several self-congratulatory passages in Petrarch's own Latin and Italian poems; consider, for instance, *Africa* IX, 229–236:

At last the exil'd Muses he'll recall,
At last restore the Sisters from their thrall;
Despite alarms of war the arts of peace shall rise,
And praise the name of Petrarch to the skies.
The deeds *you* witness'd shall he tell at length—
The Libyan war, and Spain, and Roman strength.
These shall he tell, in swelling accents grand,
Until the name of Petrarch fills the land!

[26] This (*pace* Quatrario's editor) I take to refer to fourteenth-century eclogists, pastoral Petrarchists like Boccaccio, the *anonymus Venetus* and Giovanni de Bonis later on, Coluccio Salutati, Tommaso Rigo, Domenico Silvestri, Giacobbe Allegretti, Giovanni Quatrario, and many others whose very names are unknown.

leaders to follow:[27] its udders shall never run dry. I myself am not immortal, but my songs are: few are those who can achieve the laurel crown.'[28] All nature, exclaims the boy, must praise such verse as this: it is as though Apollo himself had sung. I shall never again (he goes on) revisit Sulmona:[29] I wish that I could remain here with you for ever (78–94); reverend sir, grant to me the milk of the sacred flock, the power of song (100–104). The poem closes (105–107) with the old shepherd's assurances that he himself will inspire the boy's songs—there is no need for lack of self-confidence.

Petrarch, whose own Latinity is not perfect and whose own eclogues are not above reproach, may or may not have seen a copy of this lamentable product of Quatrario's genius; if he did read the poem, he must surely—in Housman's memorable words—have felt like Sin when she gave birth to Death. Yet the poem, for all its faults, is a document of some importance in the history of humanism in Italy of the later fourteenth century, showing as it does how completely Petrarch had achieved the *gloria* at which he had always aimed; he has become the grave and reverend seigneur, the dean of the new Latin literature, the shepherd surrounded by a flock of dutifully imitative Latin Petrarchists: the poem provides a commentary on the ambitions expressed by Petrarch in his own first eclogue. Quatrario himself obviously worshipped him, and, being a Renaissance poet, does not hesitate to say so in terms that a modern writer might reserve for the Deity. And it is the labored sincerity of Quatrario's admiration that makes this poem the least difficult of the six eclogues. The aim of scores of neo-Latin versifiers was to impress patrons with their precocious versatility and thereby gain lucrative employment; in the other poems, it is true, Quatrario was as much a place-seeker as the next man, but this eclogue was written for its own sake: the reader has only to turn to any of the other five poems to see the difference. As for the poems as a group, we see in them almost the last of the truly cryptic eclogues of the fourteenth century: after 1400, neo-

[27] The muses, presumably; as in his own works, Petrarch is here claiming to have been the first to rouse the muses from their long sleep during the middle ages: cf. my note in *Philological Quarterly* XXXIV (1955), 76–81.

[28] The reference is naturally to Petrarch's laurel crown, presented to him at Rome in 1341 at the urging of King Robert of Naples: cf. especially *Epp. fam. rer.*, IV, 7, written to King Robert. The reader of Petrarch's works grows as weary of subsequent references to this crown as of Cicero's allusions to the glorious events of his consulate in 63 B.C.

[29] Quatrario at this time was living under sentence of banishment from his native city; it is clear from the third eclogue that he did not regret exile.

Latin eclogists, in Italy and elsewhere, abandoned cryptic symbolism, turning either to attempts at derivative perfectionism[30] or to new forms[31] of eclogue in which they tried to create new classes of pastoral or employed pastoral as a medium for such themes as satire.

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[30] Cf. my 'Later Neo-Latin Pastoral', *Studies in Philology* LIII (1956), 429–451, LIV (1957), 481–497.

[31] Cf. my 'New Forms of Neo-Latin Pastoral', *Studies in the Renaissance* IV (1957), 71–100.

Jean Ferrault on the King's Privileges

A Study of the Medieval Sources of Renaissance Political Theory in France

SCHOLARS have generally given only passing attention to a 24-folio booklet in Gothic characters entitled *Insignia pecularia christianissimi Francorum regni numero viginti . . .*, the work of an early sixteenth-century French writer, Jean Ferrault. This oversight is partly due to the inelegance and obscurity of Ferrault's Latin and also to the fact that his treatise belongs to the vast 'no man's land' which too often separates medieval and Renaissance fields of research. Few books, however, are more important than Ferrault's for a clear understanding of the period of rising absolutism which extends from the first years of Francis I's reign to the beginning of the religious wars. Indeed, as Henri Hauser puts it, *Insignia pecularia* constitutes 'the point of departure of Gallican and royalist doctrine in France'.[1]

There are several contradictory data pertaining to the first publication of Ferrault's book.[2] The first dated edition is one by Jean Petit in 1520; three other undated editions are possibly anterior to 1520 and there may have existed many other editions of this exceptionally small-sized book.[3]

[1] Hauser's summary of *Insignia pecularia* is sketchy and even inaccurate, for example, when he states that this book 'se rattache au schisme de Louis XII' (Henri Hauser, *Les Sources de l'histoire de France-XVI*ème *siècle*, Paris 1909, II, 69).

[2] Gabriel Hanotaux, who was the first to mention the importance of Ferrault's treatise as a source of the theory of *regalia*, knew only the editions of *Insignia pecularia* subsequent to 1530 (those enumerated *infra*, n. 5). He thought it was the anonymous summary of a theory taught in the law school of Toulouse in the late 15th century. (*Essai sur les libertés de l'Eglise gallicane*, introduction to Vol. I of *Recuil des instructions données aux ambassadeurs*, Paris, 1888.) R. H. Murray lists *Perrault's* (*sic*) *Insignis* (*sic*) *Pecularia* as a political treatise published in the year 1500 (*The Political Consequences of the Reformation*, Boston, 1926, p. 285). For J.W. Allen, Ferrault's book was published 'under Louis XII', but he gives 1515 as the date of publication in his bibliography (*A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1928, pp. 283, 521). 1517 is proposed as the date of publication by H. Sée, A. Rébillon, and E. Préclin in *Le XVI*ème *siècle* (Paris, 1950), p. 249.

[3] *A.* Edition by Jean Petit, 1520, in-8° goth. (*Bibliothèque nationale* Le[4]. 3). *B. Edition* Tolose apud N. Vieillard, 15—, in-8° (*Bibliothèque municipale de Toulouse* Rés. D XVI 333).

However, no definite proof can be found that *Insignia pecularia* had been printed prior to 1520: the first allusion to Ferrault's treatise which we find in political literature is in a book published in 1526.[4] After 1530, *Insignia pecularia* was reproduced in different collections where it could be more easily consulted by political theorists.[5]

As for the date of composition, it can be approximately determined by internal evidence and with the help of two manuscript copies formerly belonging to the King's Library and now preserved in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.[6] An extremely bombastic preface dedicates the treatise to King Louis XII, who died on the first of January 1515. The French manuscript mentions Jean de Ganay as chancellor—a position he held from 31 January 1508 to his death on 3 June 1512. The name of Jean de Ganay has been dropped from the Latin manuscript and subsequent editions, suggesting that the sole French manuscript antedates Ganay's death. The last historical event to be mentioned in *Insignia pecularia* is the battle of Agnadel (14 May 1509).[7] Moreover, none of the books quoted by Ferrault were first printed after 1508.[8] In the whole book, there is not

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C. Edition by Jean Petit, undated, pages numbered, in-8° goth. (*Bibliothèque nationale* Le^{4}.3.A). *D.* Edition by Jean Petit, undated, pages not numbered, different imprint (*Bibliothèque Mazarine* and *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*). *E.* J. G. Meusel in his *Bibliotheca historica*, X, 179, N° 2467, lists a 1529 edition.

[4] The first author who mentions Jean Ferrault's book is Jacques Bonaud de Sauset in a *Panegyricus* printed with his edition of Jean de Terre Rouge's *Contra rebelles suorum regum* (Lyon, 1526), fol. CXI, CXIV.

[5] *F.* Under the title of *Tractatus cum iucundus tum maxime utilis jura ac privilegia regni Franciae continens*, Jean Ferrault's book is found in a collection that starts with Guillaume Du Breuil's *Stilus supræmæ curiæ parlamenti parisiensis atque tholosani* (Paris, 1530, in-4° goth.). This collection was reprinted in 1542 and 1551. *G.* As an appendix to Charles de Grassaille's *Regalium Franciae libri duo* (Paris, 1545, in-8°). *H.* In Charles Dumoulin's *Opera* of 1555 and from there in the various editions of the complete works of the same, especially in the *Opera omnia* (Paris, 1658), II, 1107–1130. *I.* In the legal encyclopedia of F. Ziletti, *Tractatus universi juris* (Venice, 1584), XVI, fol. 174^{v}–178.

[6] French manuscript 5208 and Latin manuscript 4777. Neither one is dated. The French manuscript, an abridged version, was intended for the king himself. The Latin manuscript, richly illuminated with golden 'fleurs-de-lis', constitutes the original text reproduced by the different editions.

[7] 'Propriis sumptibus bononiam [= Bologna] a bentivolo [= J. Bentivoglio]: romandiolam a Venetiis occupatas sedi apostolicae et Julio secundo restituit' (fol VI^{v}). As a consequence of Agnadel, the province of Romagna was taken from the Venetians by Louis XII and given to Pope Julius II.

[8] The 1545 edition by Grassaille of *Insignia pecularia* (p. 321) mentions a treatise published by Jean Feu in 1510. This passage is not included in the Latin manuscript or the early editions. Grassaille probably made this addition, which is also found in Dumoulin's editions.

the slightest allusion to the violent conflict which pitted Louis XII against Pope Julius II from May 1510 to 1514. We are consequently led to believe that *Insignia pecularia* was composed in the second half of the year 1509 or in the first months of 1510.

About Jean Ferrault's life, we know very little. His father, whose name was also Jean Ferrault, had served the king as a warden of the mint in Angers ('garde de la Monnaie d'Angers') before becoming an alderman ('échevin') and finally the mayor of that city.[9] Following his father's footsteps, Jean Ferrault Jr. studied law and earned his master's degree in both civil and canon law ('utriusque juris licenciatus'). He had studied under the famous Gallican theorist Cosme Guymier.[10] It is also known from a passage of his *Insignia pecularia* (sixth privilege) that he attended a meeting of the Parliament of Paris on 17 April 1507. He also had an opportunity of going through the records of the Parliament and of reading some important documents in the King's Library, but it is impossible to say in what capacity he was able to do so. Another established fact is that, in 1509–1510, when he composed his *Insignia pecularia*, he was a king's attorney in the province of Maine ('Procureur du roi au pays du Maine'). The other editions of his treatise in Gothic characters also describe him as a counsellor of the Exchequer ('Consilarius fisci'). His work makes several allusions to the duties he performed in Maine while serving the king.

In a dedicatory preface that he addresses to the king, Ferrault gives his reasons for writing a treatise on royal privileges: he wants the king's subjects to be fully aware of the obedience they owe to their master, so that they will always support him 'in his just and reasonable quarrels'. Therefore he enumerates what he interchangeably calls 'privileges' ('privilegia'), 'rights' ('droits', 'jura'), 'prerogatives' ('praerogativae') or 'preëminences' ('preheminences', 'praeminentiae'). The privileges he describes are not those of other kings: they belong solely to the king of France.

In this respect, Ferrault's theory is completely different from the various attempts by theologians or jurists to give a *general* definition of kingship. By using in his title the adjective *pecularia*, he undoubtedly wished to stress the most original characteristics of his doctrine: those of 'particularism'. All through the *Insignia pecularia* the French crown seems to

[9] Célestin Port, *Dictionnaire biographique du Maine-et-Loire* (Paris, 1876), II, 144.
[10] Giles Ménage, *Histoire de Sablé* (Paris, 1844), II, 116.

be above the ordinary laws and principles by which other monarchies are conducted.

As for the notion of 'royal privileges', it also is the result of an old tradition among French jurists. Some passages in *Insignia pecularia* clearly show on what juridical grounds Ferrault bases this exceptional position of the kings of France. He refers the reader several times to a certain 'Livre des fleurs-de-lis' or 'Liber liliorum' from which he even borrows long quotations when he mentions the third, fourth, and fifth privileges.

In concluding his preface, he again shows how important this book is for a clear understanding of his theory when he expresses the wish that the king should have *Insignia pecularia* placed in his library alongside the 'Livre des fleur-de-lis'. We have succeeded in identifying this book, which Ferrault's treatise merely follows and completes. It is one of those collections of privileges granted by the papacy to the kings and queens of France that are frequently mentioned in the different catalogues of the Royal Library from the fourteenth century on.[11] We were able to identify the actual manuscript that Ferrault consulted: it is preserved in the *Bibliothèque nationale* in Paris, and still retains the same blue-cloth binding embroidered with the golden 'fleur-de-lis' after which it was named.[12] With the title of *Rebriches des privileges perpetuelz du Roy*, it is a collection of pontifical bulls bestowing exemptions and favors on the French kings and queens. The numbering of the bulls in the *Rebriches* coincides exactly with Ferrault's numbering in *Insignia pecularia*. There, Ferrault was able to find, together with the text of some important pontifical decisions pertaining to France (instituting of 'Corpus Christi Day', canonization of Saint Louis), some minor regulations (as, for instance, a simplification of the mass while the French court was travelling), and also a number of bulls with respect to the relations between the king and the Church of France. Generally speaking, these documents grant to the French crown exceptional 'privileges' and 'favors' that are presented as so many proofs of the gratitude of the Holy See towards the most Christian kings because of the innumerable services they rendered to the popes.[13]

[11] A compilation of these manuscripts has been published by Adolphe Tardif under the title of *Privilèges accordés à la couronne de France par le Saint-Siège* (Paris, 1855).

[12] Latin manuscript 9814. Ferrault's wish that his treatise should be placed close to the 'Livre des Fleurs-de-lis' must have been fulfilled, for the cover of the Latin manuscript 4777 of *Insignia pecularia* also has been embroidered with 'fleurs-de-lis'. By matching the books, the king's librarian stressed the association between the two.

[13] Almost all these privileges date from the time of the Avignon popes. Very few were granted after the Pragmatic Sanction (1438).

In spite of the progressive deterioration of the traditional friendship between Rome and the French monarchy, there is evidence that the kings of France practically never ceased to consider this collection of pontifical privileges as part of their written rights to hold office. They always kept them as a precious treasure among the royal charters.[14] There is an allusion to these privileges in the preface of *Le Rosier des guerres*, the anonymous work that Louis XI ordered written in order to teach the Dauphin and all his successors.[15] Cosme Guymier, who was Ferrault's professor, also mentions the royal privileges preserved in the royal charters: he makes reference to them in his famous *Commentaire sur la pragmatique* first published in 1486.[16]

The notion of kings' privileges was thoroughly exploited in the last twenty years of the fifteenth century by French jurists (especially members of the school of Toulouse), who strove to reconcile the ideas of independence of the church and supreme authority of the pope with the rights that the kings had little by little arrogated to themselves in the administration of the Gallican church. In this respect, quite typical are the ideas developed by Étienne Aufreri in a lecture given in Toulouse in 1486 (*Repetitio Clementinae primae ut clericorum de officio et potestate judicis ordinarii*) and published in 1502 by Jean Corsier under the title of *Decisiones capellae Tholosanae* (Lyon, 1502, in-4° goth.). For Aufreri, there is absolutely no doubt that both spiritual and temporal powers reside in the person of the pope and that he has complete jurisdiction over the temporal possessions of all Christians. However, both the powers and the jurisdiction can be delegated to any lay person through a pontifical privilege and consequently the powers exercised by the king of France, when dealing with the Gallican church for example, are only a delegation of the pontifical supreme power and a privilege which leaves intact the principle of the pope's 'suprema potestas'.[17]

Following the same line of reasoning, another French theorist, Jean de Selve, enumerates in his *Tractatus de beneficio* (1504) ten privileges strictly attached to the king of France. He explains, for instance, that

[14] The *Rebriches des Privileges* followed the French court in its exile during the worst times of the Hundred Years' War. On the first page of Manuscript 9814 has been written in 1446 the certificate of baptism of Charles de France, Duke of Berry, the king's fourth son.

[15] *Bibliothèque nationale*, French manuscript 1965, fol. 42v.

[16] '. . . multaque alia privilegia, quae inter chartas regias invenies . . .' (*Pragmatica sanctio cum glossis*, Paris, 1546, in-4°, fol. 6).

[17] Étienne Aufreri, *Opusculorum avidissimus cumulus* . . . (Lyon, 1533, in-4°).

only the pope can, according to common law ('jus commune'), appoint ecclesiastics. But, he adds, this right of appointing ecclesiastics can be given as a 'fief' to anybody by the pope. There is no contradiction between these two statements: 'Secular princes cannot bestow benefices' and 'They cannot bestow benefices, *except through pontifical privilege*'.

Jean Ferrault applies exactly the same line of reasoning to political speculation. He tries to reconcile the idea of the pope's supreme power both in spiritual and secular matters with the concept of the king's absolute authority in the French kingdom. He respects the theory of a 'plenitudo potestatis' exercised by the papacy, and illustrated by the metaphor of 'the two swords', in the same terms as this theory was maintained by Rome after the temporal climax reached in the thirteenth century. But, at the same time, Ferrault simply draws the conclusions implicit in the slow, relentless, undermining work of French legalists in seeking to make of their master an absolute and sovereign king, in spite of the long medieval tradition of a limited monarchy. He does not try to found the king's authority on strongly antipapal grounds, as Marsilius of Padua or Dante did when they supported the Ghibelline cause in the emperor's conflict with the Holy See, or even as some French theorists had done during the struggle between Pope Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair. On the contrary, Ferrault undertakes to prove that, far from being opposed to powers exclusively attributed to the pope, the absolute authority of the French king is just a delegation and, so to speak, a reflection of the pope's supreme authority in the Christian world. This is quite in agreement with Pope Innocent III's famous metaphor comparing the pope to the sun and the king to the moon.[18] But, by a strange paradox, Ferrault uses this theory to reinforce the king's position in the struggle of the Gallican church against papal claims. The pope, through his canons and bulls, is entitled to grant exemptions, favors, and remissions at his own discretion without modifying dogmas. The king's privileges are simply examples of these exceptions: they constitute his right when he deals with his subjects or with the French church. This is why legal argumentation in Ferrault's treatise is not based on Roman law, but on a very shrewd interpretation of some passages taken from Gratian's *Decree* and the decretals, with frequent reference to the opinion expressed by Roman canonists. For this student of canon law, the essence of French political abso-

[18] 'Sicut luna lumen suum a sole sortitur . . . sic regalis potestas ab auctoritate pontificali suae sortitur dignitatis splendorem' (Innocent III, *Epist.* I, 401, in Migne, *Patr. lat.* CCXIV, 377, and *Décrétales* I, 33, 6, para. 4).

lutism was to be found in the absolutist claims of the Roman Catholic Church.

Twenty special privileges of the French kings constitute the *Insignia peculiaria*. But Ferrault makes very clear in his conclusion that he arbitrarily chose this number.[19] In practice, the number of these privileges is unlimited. First, because the most Christian king automatically possesses all the normal rights that other princes have. Second, because his privileges constitute a sort of capital which should be perpetually protected, increased, and turned to account.[20] In Ferrault's thought, absolutism is on the offensive; it is a continuous struggle, similar to that carried on by French kings in order to enlarge the royal domain.

The first privilege of the *Insignia peculiaria* defines the king's sovereignty over France in the following terms: 'He admits no superior in temporal matters . . . [in France] the emperor has neither territory nor jurisdiction either *de jure* or *de facto*.' This is an echo of the academic controversies which were still raging in law schools on the point of knowing whether the emperor still exercised his theoretical dominion over the whole Christian world including France.[21] But Jean Ferrault discovers in Pope Innocent II's bull *Per venerabilem* the convincing proof that the kingdom of France is not subject to the imperial law and authority, in spite of contrary opinions held by several commentators of canon law. Ferrault reaffirms this idea when he expounds the twelfth privilege: the king of France owns all the rights the emperor possesses in his empire, chiefly the legislative power. Nevertheless, the imperial prestige still exercises a great fascination on French minds: Ferrault proves it when, in the thirteenth privilege, he strongly advocates the right of the king of France to be a candidate in the imperial election 'because Charlemagne belonged to the Germanic nation and consequently his successors and descendants must be held as such'. For many years, this theory animated French diplomacy in its claims for the eligibility of the king to the empire.

The second privilege concerns the king's precedence above all other

[19] '. . . moy contentant d'en avoir nombré jusques a vingt qui est le nombre auquel les hommes peuvent par le souverain prince estre repputez maieurs par dispense et previlleige' (Manuscrit français 5208, fol. 21v–22).

[20] '. . . affin que iceulx roys sachent avoir telles preheminences, soient soigneux a les *ampliffier* garder et deffendre' (*ibid.*, fol. 22).

[21] This embarrassing question is very exhaustively discussed by the French jurist Jean Feu (Johannes Igneus) in a lecture 'An rex Franciae recognoscat Imperatorem . . .' first given in Pavia in 1510 and printed with Feu's *Varia opera* (Pavia, 1510).

sovereign princes. On this point, Ferrault's argumentation is based on the different epithets used by the pontifical chancery to qualify French kings. He is most glorious ('très-glorieux,' 'gloriosissimus'), most excellent ('très-excellent', 'excellentissimus'), illustrious ('illustre', 'illustris'). But he holds no more eminent title than that of 'most Christian' ('très-chrétien', 'christianissimus'). The use of this epithet gives evidence of the exceptional position of France in the Christian world. This position was deserved by virtue of the innumerable services rendered by the French monarchy to the Holy See: founding of monasteries, churches, and universities; obedience on all occasions; fights against heresy; crusades against the infidels. In calling the French king 'most Christian', the pontifical bulls guarantee his orthodoxy for the past and the future. And Ferrault sees an additional proof of the king's permanent agreement with God and Christ's church in his miraculous power of curing scrofula, the king's evil.

The third privilege grants ten days of indulgence to whoever prays for 'the peace, salvation, and preservation of the king of France'. On this point, Ferrault quotes Cosme Guymier and Thomas Aquinas. He also mentions a bull of Pope Clement promising a hundred days of forgiveness for whoever 'prays for the king'.

In Ferrault's enumeration of the king's religious privileges, there is a very significant omission: although the king's unction is mentioned, no reference direct or indirect is made to the 'Miracle de la Sainte Ampoule', the most important tradition concerning the medieval ritual of coronation. Of course, it was commonly accepted in France that the king was anointed in Reims with the same sacred oil that the Holy Ghost, in the form of a dove, brought to Clovis when he was baptized. This tradition had never been approved by Rome, first, because the royal unction was administered in eight different parts of the body *including the head*, a privilege reserved to episcopal unction; second, because the king of France seemed to receive his power directly from God, and not from the church, by being anointed with the contents of the holy phial. However, the Gallican tradition always carefully preserved the rite of the holy phial because of the important role it gave to the Archbishop of Reims (who administered the unction) and to the Abbot of Saint Rémy (to whom the holy phial belonged). By omitting the 'holy phial', Ferrault sides with canon law and pontifical advocates against Gallican theorists.

This attitude is clearly indicated when *Insignia pecularia* enumerates, from the fourth through the eleventh privilege, the king's prerogatives

in dealing with the Gallican church. On this subject, Ferrault's ideas differ greatly from those of his master, Cosme Guymier. The latter was ardently attached to the traditional liberties of the church: he advocated the independence of the French clergy, the special jurisdiction of the church in ecclesiastical matters, the authority of the Sorbonne, and the right of the chapters to elect their own bishops. Jean Ferrault, on the contrary, is merely trying to substitute the king for the pope as the temporal head of the Gallican church. Here again, pontifical bulls are quoted to confirm royal privileges: 'Although no prince is allowed to levy subsidies from clergymen . . . without the pope's consent, yet to the king of France, it is permitted by special privilege to take aid from his subjects for the defense of the kingdom: privilege of Pope Boniface in a bull of the Book of Fleurs-de-lis' (fourth privilege). The king of France gets revenue from vacant bishoprics as approved by the Council of Basle and several bulls recorded in the Book of Fleurs-de-lis (fifth privilege). He cannot be excommunicated by any prelate inferior to the pope;[22] this privilege pertains not only to the king but also to the officers acting in his stead, as is established by several acts of the Parliament (sixth privilege). The king may hold benefices (seventh privilege) and also confer them (eighth privilege). In so doing, he manifests that he is not solely a layman, but shares ecclesiastical status to a marked degree. Here following a Gallican tradition, Ferrault thinks that the king's right of holding prebends comes to him from the consecration he receives from the church. According to a grant to Charlemagne by Pope Adrian, the king invests prelates and, in those bishoprics in which it is customary to elect the bishop, the king's permission still has to be secured (ninth privilege). French prelates owe feudal homage to the king (tenth privilege). The king and his officers have jurisdiction over spiritual and possessory cases between ecclesiastics; this privilege makes of the king and his Parliament the legal arbitrator of conflicts involving church properties (eleventh privilege).

From the fourteenth privilege to the nineteenth, Jean Ferrault enumerates purely civil cases where the king's jurisdiction is supreme and without appeal. He can restore good name (fourteenth privilege); he

[22] This implies an important concession: the pope may excommunicate the king of France, a right which was contested by some French jurists and theologians during the Pisa Council and the conflict between Louis XII and Pope Julius II. This passage, among others, may have made untimely the publication of *Insignia peculiaria* between 1511 and 1514.

can legitimize and rehabilitate the 'incapacitated' (fifteenth privilege); he (and only he) can assure safe conduct in the kingdom (sixteenth privilege); he alone can levy taxes (seventeenth privilege); he alone has jurisdiction over bearing of arms (nineteenth privilege). All these prerogatives had also been claimed by feudal lords, but they were progressively taken away from them in the two centuries immediately preceding Ferrault's time.

The eighteenth privilege differs from the others so far as it mentions the French people, and yet it also is designed to strengthen the king's authority, this time by depriving the French people of one of its traditional powers. 'Although, according to common law, any community is entitled to appoint an attorney ('procureur') or trustee ('syndic') without the prince's permission, nevertheless in France, it is not permitted to any city, town, or community to assemble for this or other reason, without the king's consent, lest, under false pretense, they organize some plot, from which could stem some scandal and, from this scandal and division, an occasion of ruin and destruction to the kingdom.' This text clearly shows the profound distrust of the king's servants towards any form of democratic institution.

The twentieth and last privilege is only indirectly related to the others. It concerns the Salic law barring women from the throne of France.

On this point, Jean Ferrault is unable to justify by pontifical bulls or canon law an institutional peculiarity which places the French monarchy quite apart from all others. He bases his account of the Salic law on three sources: the records of the Parliament, the decisions ('ordonances') of the Three Estates and the chronicles of France: 'The Salic law was drawn up by four Sicambrians: Usucate, Losocate, Sologaste, and Visongaste acting in the name of the French people as a whole; then, the law was proclaimed and promulgated by King Pharamond. The adjective "Salic" comes from the Latin word for salt (*sal*). Just as salt makes meat tasty and keeps it from spoiling, this Salic law gave taste and assured uprightness to the French nation that formerly lived a brutal and lawless life . . . and such a law was the cause of the preservation of the kingdom.'

Ferrault's theory of privileges, after remaining unnoticed under Louis XII, suddenly was put into effect when Francis I came to the throne. The policy of the new king's chancellor, Antoine Duprat, conformed, in its general lines, to the principles expressed in *Insignia pecularia*. Putting an

end to a long and fruitless conflict with the Holy See, Duprat signed with Leo X the 1516 concordat and consolidated the king's absolute power by an agreement which respected the principle of the pope's supreme authority. In fact, the French monarchy had, at that point, everything to gain in being confirmed in its role as Rome's 'secular arm'. Of course, the principal victim of such an agreement was the Gallican church. The Sorbonne's resolute opposition to the concordat shows how little enthusiasm the French clergy felt concerning the collusion of papal and royal absolutisms. Even among the king's most faithful servants, this new trend of policy provoked an uproar, evidence of which is given by the stubborn resistance of the Paris Parliament which, for eighteen months, postponed the recording of the concordat. But finally, on 12 March 1518, Francis I and Duprat won the reluctant approbation of the Parliament. After that date, ecclesiastical Gallicanism was definitely defeated in its fight with royal Gallicanism and France was indissolubly tied to the Holy See.

After its first publication in or before the year 1520, *Insignia peculiaria* was the model that inspired the theorists of absolutism for over a quarter of a century. Barthélémy de Chasseneuz in his *Catalogus gloriae mundi* (1528) completes Ferrault's twenty privileges and enumerates 208 *regalia*, or cases, in which the king is sovereign.[23] It is true, however, that he gives up Jean Ferrault's strict particularism. The privileges he enumerates do not belong solely to the king of France, but to all kings. However, Chasseneuz describes, as did Ferrault, the king's rights in dealing with the Gallican church as a delegation of the pope's supreme power.

In 1538, Grassaille's *Regalium Franciae libri duo*[24] further pursues the task undertaken by Ferrault. The privileges are there grouped in two books of twenty chapters each. The first book deals with secular matters and the second concerns the relations between the king and the church. Significantly, the author uses as little as possible the word 'privilege' and replaces it by 'right' ('jus'). There is a definite tendency in Grassaille's treatise to present the king's rights as normal powers and not as pontifical favors. The theory of the king's 'filial obedience' to the pope (p. 63) as opposed to the normal obedience owed by other princes, and the author's insistence on the 'irrevocable' character of the titles granted by

[23] Chasseneuz's *Catalogus* had several editions: 1546, 1579, 1586, 1617, 1649.

[24] Charles de Grassaille, *Regalium Franciae, libri duo, jura omnia et dignitates christianissimi Galliae regis continentes* (Lyon, 1538, in-8°). There is a second edition, the one I have used (Paris, 1545, in-8°). An appendix to this second edition gives the text of *Insignia peculiaria*.

the Holy See, lack, regarding the papacy, the deferential tone and grateful accents of the *Insignia pecularia*.

Finally, in the second half of the sixteenth century, Ferrault's treatise loses the prominent position it had in France for about thirty years. Charles Dumoulin, in spite of his bitter feelings towards Rome and his invariable attempts to base the king's authority on strictly lay grounds, nevertheless thought it necessary to include the text of *Insignia pecularia* in the edition of his own complete works. But, in a marginal note, he introduced the already dated author with the following perfunctory comment: 'Ferrault of Angers: royal attorney in Le Mans under Louis XII to whom he dedicated [his book]. So that you [the reader] may observe the barbarousness and ignorance of his time.'[25]

From then on, Jean Ferrault's name was forgotten, even though some of his ideas lived as long as French absolutism lived.

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[25] 'Ferrault. Andegavensem regiumque apud Cenomanos procuratorem tempore Ludo. 12, cui dicavit, ut notes barbariem et imperitiam temporis. C[arolus]. M[olineus].' (*Opera*, Paris, 1658, II, 1107).

The Moralization of the Dance in Elyot's *Governour*

AMID reflections on time and motion and the evanescence of earthly things, the poet of *Four Quartets* brings forth out of the past a charming scene wherein men and women move together harmoniously to the strains of the country pipe and drum, 'In daunsinge, signifying matrimonie'.[1] These lines which Mr. Eliot has so effectively adapted are from a treatise on dancing contained in *The Book Named the Governour* (Book I, Chapters 19–25), by his sixteenth-century namesake, Sir Thomas Elyot. What is unusual about the treatise, and what must have been its principal attraction for Mr. Eliot, is the author's theory that the dancing together of a man and a woman 'betokeneth concorde' and, further, symbolizes virtue. This curious theory of dancing as a moral exercise well illustrates certain fundamental aspects of English humanist thought in the early sixteenth century: its preoccupation with ethical matters, and its indebtedness for its ideas to both classical and medieval sources.

Like many of his contemporaries, Elyot desired to establish in England a system of education based upon the soundest principles of continental humanism, as these had been demonstrated in the work of men like Vittorino da Feltre and Rudolph Agricola, in the *Courtier* of Castiglione, and, above all, in the writings of Erasmus. One of these principles—less compelling, perhaps, to the frail Erasmus than to the others[2]—held that the body, as well as the mind and the spirit, demanded the right sort of training. It was the ideal of these educators to fashion a gentleman in whom the three aspects of human nature would be harmoniously united, who would reveal in his every word and act both an inner

[1] 'East Coker', I, 30.

[2] 'The body counted for less with Erasmus than with the great teachers of Italy; he was after all a monk, and a student' (William Harrison Woodward, *Studies in Education during the Age of the Renaissance, 1400–1600*, Cambridge, 1924, p. 116).

and an outer grace. For the purpose of acquiring grace of carriage and demeanor, certain physical exercises, among them dancing, were thought to be efficacious.

Not all humanist educators, however, approved of dancing for the young. Some, like Vergerius, forbade it on the grounds that it bred 'lasciviousness and vain conceit'.[3] In recommending dancing as a beneficial exercise for young men, Elyot faced the opposition of these stricter moralists. His opponents he does not name, other than to say that they were men 'excellently lerned, specially diuines', who had always in their mouths when they came into the pulpit 'the sayeng of the noble doctor saincte Augustine, That better it were to delue or to go to ploughe on the sonday than to daunse'.[4] One hopes these Tudor clergymen did not go to the same lengths as Cornelius Agrippa, the famous occult philosopher and historiographer of Charles v, whose denunciations of poetry Sidney and Harington were later to reckon with. In Agrippa's estimation, dancing is

> A thing, which were it not set off with Musick, would appear the greatest Vanity of Vanities, the rudest, most nonsensical, and ridiculous sight in the world. This is that which lets loose the reyns of Pride, the friend of Wickedness, the food and nourishment of Lust, the bane and enemy of Chastity, and unworthy so much as the thought of any honest person.[5]

Whoever these critics of dancing were, Elyot, who had a good legal mind and who was himself 'excellently lerned', was able to make short work of their arguments by summoning that powerful ally of the Renaissance writer, 'history'. Thus he cites many authors to show that dancing was of the most ancient origin and had been approved by great and good men throughout the ages.[6] Most of this evidence he actually obtained from a dialogue of Lucian's entitled *The Dance*.[7] Among the many illustrations which he borrowed from this work is a charming story of the Cynic philosopher Demetrius, who came to a pantomime

[3] See William Harrison Woodward, *Vittorino da Feltre and Other Humanist Educators* (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 117, 241, 245.

[4] Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Boke Named the Gouernour*, ed. H. H. S. Croft (London, 1880), I, 203–204. All other references to the *Governour* will be to this edition.

[5] Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, *The Vanity of Arts and Sciences*, translator unknown (London, 1676), p. 60. The *De vanitate et incertitudine scientiarum* was first published in 1527. For its relationship to Sidney's and Harington's essays on poetry, see G. Gregory Smith, ed., *Elizabethan Critical Essays* (Oxford, 1904), I, 182–183, 393; II, 199 ff.

[6] *Governour*, I, 204–232.

[7] The source was first noted by Croft.

prepared to scoff, but who grew so delighted with the expressive skill of the artist that he cried aloud: 'O man, I do nat only se, but also here, what thou doest, and it semeth also to me that with thy handes thou spekest.'[8]

In addition, Lucian expounds the idea, useful to Elyot, that dancing 'brings not only pleasure but benefit to those who see it'. In fact it is the purpose of Lucian's dialogue to show

> how much culture and instruction . . . [dancing] gives; how it imports harmony into the souls of its beholders, exercising them in what is fair to see, entertaining them with what is good to hear, and displaying to them joint beauty of soul and body.[9]

Among the many ancient dances described by Lucian, one in particular strikes Elyot as being suitable for illustrating his own theory of the art:

> Also there was a kynde of daunsinge called *Hormus*, of all the other moste lyke to that whiche is at this time used; wherin daunsed yonge men and maidens, the man expressinge in his motion and countenance fortitude and magnanimitie apt for the warres, the maiden moderation and shamefastnes, which represented a pleasant connexion of fortitude and temperance. In stede of these we haue nowe base daunsis, bargenettes [bargerets], pauions [pavans], turgions [turdions], and roundes.[10]

Once having established the respectability of dancing, through recourse to history, Elyot proceeds to assemble his own theory, which is in three parts, or stages. In the first stage, Elyot seeks to prove that the association of man and woman in dancing was instituted 'as well for the necessarye coniunction of those two persones, as for the intimation of sondry vertues, which be by them represented'. Briefly, the association symbolizes matrimonial concord. To understand this concept, dancers and onlookers must know what are the manly and the feminine qualities.

> A man in his naturall perfection is fiers, hardy, stronge in opinion, couaitous of glorie, desirous of knowlege, appetiting by generation to brynge forthe his semblable. The good nature of a woman is to be milde, timerouse, tractable, benigne, of sure remembrance, and shamfast.[11]

Thus when we behold a man and a woman dancing together, we are to imagine a concord of these various opposing qualities: the boldness of the man, for example, combining with the shyness of the woman to

[8] *Governour*, I, 224–227; *Lucian*, tr. A. M. Harmon (Loeb Classical Library, 1913–1936), V, 265–267.

[9] *Lucian*, V, 219.

[10] *Governour*, I, 230; *Lucian*, V, 227.

[11] I, 233–236. Compare *Paradise Lost*, IV, 295–298.

produce magnanimity, a virtue; or wilfulness and tractability begetting constancy.[12]

Into the creating of this first part of the theory has gone, one recognizes, the familiar doctrine set forth in the *Nicomachean Ethics* of Aristotle that virtue represents a mean between two extremes. It is the same doctrine to which Elyot carefully adheres in his treatment of the individual virtues in Books II and III of the *Governour*. Attributed to Aristotle is also the notion about the harmonizing traits of men and women. In a later work by Elyot, *The Defense of Good Women* (1540), the source of this notion is given as the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomica*.[13]

Elyot's second step in building up his theory of dancing as a moral exercise is to explain how it may be applied to the instruction of the young. Some relaxation from serious studies, he insists, claiming the authority of Cicero and asserting a principle dear to the humanists, should be allowed the child; yet the pastime must be of an 'honest' sort, preferably one 'wherin may be founden both recreation and meditation of vertue'. Among exercises of the body, dancing provides this fruitful combination,

> comprehendinge in it wonderfull figures, or, as the grekes do calle them, *Ideae*, of vertues and noble qualities, and specially of the commodiouse vertue called prudence, whom Tulli defineth to be the knowlege of thinges whiche oughte to be desired and folowed, and also of them whiche oughte to be fledde from or exchewed.[14]

With additional support from Aristotle, 'other philosophers', and Solomon, Elyot goes on to affirm that prudence, since it is a most useful virtue, as well as an introduction to all the other virtues, ought as soon as it is practicable to be made the object of the young man's study. But because the deliberate study of ethics is tedious to most young people, Elyot has

> deuised howe in the fourme of daunsinge, nowe late used in this realme amonge gen-

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[12] I, 236–238.

[13] See Sir Thomas Elyot, *The Defence of Good Women*, ed. Edwin Johnston Howard (Oxford, Ohio, 1940), p. 35. A similar notion appears in the *Courtier* (see Baldassare Castiglione, *The Book of the Courtier*, tr. Sir Thomas Hoby, Everyman's Library, 1948, p. 198). The idea was probably a commonplace. On the likelihood of Elyot's having known Castiglione's famous work, see Pearl Hogrefe, 'Elyot and "The Boke Called Cortegiano in Ytalion" ', *MP* XXVII (1929–1930), 303–311.

[14] *Governour*, I, 238–239.

tilmen,[15] the hole description of this vertue prudence may be founden out and well perceyued.[16]

In the third part, Elyot tells us how his theory works out in practice. To this end he explains, throughout several chapters, how the eight steps in the base dance[17] may be seen to correspond to the eight branches, or divisions, of the virtue prudence. One or two illustrations will suffice to show what he means. The first movement of the base dance, called 'honour', is

a reuerent inclination or curtaisie, with a longe deliberation or pause, and is but one motion, comprehendinge the tyme of thre other motions, or settyng forth of the foote;

it signifies

that at the begynning of all our actes, we shulde do due honour to god, whiche is the roote of prudence; whiche honour is compacte of these thre thinges, feare, loue, and reuerence. And that in the begynnynge of all thinges we shulde aduisedly, with some tracte of tyme, beholde and for se the successe of our enterprise.[18]

The second motion, the 'braule' (branle), represents the virtue 'maturity'; the third, called 'singles', stands for providence and industry; and so on through the eight steps of the dance and their corresponding virtues.[19]

Thus far I have outlined Elyot's theory of the dance moralized, and have indicated the contributions of Aristotle and Lucian to the theory. Let us now investigate other possible sources. Elyot himself, following an approved custom of his time, only hints at his sources: he tells us that he has made use of 'the bokes of auncient poets and philosophers', in both Greek and Latin.[20] Now Elyot's favorite among ancient philosophers—indeed, his favorite author in general and the author who exert-

[15] The base dance, to which Elyot is referring, was apparently introduced into England some time during the late middle ages. See Gaston Vuillier, *A History of Dancing* (New York, 1898), pp. 93, 383; Mabel Dolmetsch, *Dances of England and France from 1450 to 1600* (London, 1949), p. 1.

[16] I, 240–241.

[17] Actually, there are only four basic steps in this dance, but for his purpose Elyot is assuming there are eight. (See Vuillier, p. 93; Dolmetsch, p. 2.)

[18] I, 241–242.

[19] I, 242–269. The base dance—a dance in which the feet did not leave the ground—was particularly suited to Elyot's purpose, being 'grave and slow' in character and, originally at least, 'a monopoly of the aristocracy' (Vuillier, p. 93). It is not exactly the lively country dance pictured in *Four Quartets*. (For a detailed description of the base dance, see Vuillier, pp. 93–99; Dolmetsch, pp. 1–54.)

[20] I, 235.

ed the greatest influence on his thought—was Plato. There is not room here, nor would it be relevant to the present topic, to attempt to show the extent of this influence, or to bring proof that Elyot, besides gaining some of his knowledge of Platonism from writers like Cicero and Erasmus, actually knew a good many of the dialogues of Plato at first hand.[21] In the *Governour*, the greatest number of Platonic ideas come from the *Republic* and *Laws*: the whole concept of the state as a living body, made up of various classes of men and based on the principle of justice and the rule of reason, derives ultimately from these dialogues. More specifically, the *Republic* and *Laws* provide Elyot with fruitful ideas on the art of ruling, the qualifications of rulers, the relation between education, virtue, and good government, and the true meaning of nobility.

It is more than likely, then, that Elyot knew those passages in the second and seventh books of the *Laws* in which Plato deals with the problem of how to regulate dancing in the model state. There Plato, recognizing that the impulse to dance and sing is natural in children, has his lawgivers seek to turn this impulse to some good for the state. Thus they ordain that children shall be organized into choruses, whose function it shall be to perform

> representations of character, exhibited in actions and circumstances of every kind, in which the several performers enact their parts by habit and imitative art.[22]

By allowing only the most virtuous songs and dances to be employed, Plato (speaking through 'the Athenian') hopes to 'enchant the souls of the children, while still young and tender', to the acceptance of noble things.[23] The dances he prescribes are of two kinds, warlike and pacific. The former kind, which represents 'the motion of fighting, and . . . of fair bodies and brave souls engaged in violent effort', is designed to inculcate courage. Pacific dances signify 'the motion of a temperate soul living in a state of prosperity and moderate pleasures'; their function is to instill a feeling for temperance.[24] Plato has in mind, too, that the well-

[21] See Kurt Schroeder, *Platonismus in der englischen Renaissance vor und bei Thomas Eliot* (Berlin, 1920), pp. 85–115; also Friedrich Dannenberg, *Das Erbe Platons in England bis zur Bildung Lylys* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 192–216. The influence of Plato on Elyot is also the subject of three chapters in the present author's unpublished thesis in the Harvard University Library, 'Sir Thomas Elyot: Studies in Early Tudor Humanism' (1954).

[22] Plato, *Laws*, ii. 655D, tr. R. G. Bury (Loeb Classical Library, 1926), I, 99.

[23] *Laws*, ii. 664B (Bury, I, 127).

[24] *Laws*, vii. 814E (Bury, II, 91).

ordered rhythms of music and the dance lead the soul to embrace the divine principle of order.[25]

We have but to substitute prudence for courage and temperance, and base dances for choric performances, to see that Elyot's theory of the dance as an exercise in virtue coincides almost exactly with that of Plato. Like the great philosopher, Elyot believed that a man is won or lost to virtue in the early, impressionable years, and that the first concern of the parents and master should be the child's moral welfare. For Elyot as well as for Plato, the aim of education was to train a governing class to govern in righteousness. The way to accomplish this was to subject the individual to constant indoctrination in virtue, from childhood to maturity, through books and by association with good men, in studies and at play.

Other indications that Plato—or some form of Platonism—was one of the chief inspirations for Elyot's theory of dancing are to be found in two specific passages in the *Governour*. The first passage (which has already been quoted) connects dancing—rather vaguely, it must be admitted—with the doctrine of ideas.[26] In the second passage, Platonism is specifically mentioned:

> The interpretours of Plato do thinke that the wonderfull and incomprehensible ordre of the celestial bodies, I meane sterres and planettes, and their motions harmonicall, gaue to them that intentifly [intentively], and by the deepe serche of raison beholde their coursis, in the sondrye diuersities of nombre and tyme, a fourme of imitation of a semblable motion, whiche they called daunsinge or saltation; wherfore the more nere they approched to that temperance and subtile modulation of the saide superiour bodies, the more perfecte and commendable is their daunsinge, whiche is moste like to the trouthe of any opinion that I have hitherto founden.[27]

It might be said here that the passage just quoted is the only one in the whole of the little treatise on dancing in which Elyot shows an awareness of the deeper, metaphysical meaning of the dance.

Plato, Aristotle, and Lucian are the chief, but not the only, sources of Elyot's theory of dancing. Another seems to have been the medieval tradition of allegory, a tradition which extended even to the moralizing

[25] 'The art of dancing . . . is intimately entwined with all human tradition of war, of labour, of pleasure, of education, while some of the wisest philosophers and the most ancient civilisations have regarded the dance as the pattern in accordance with which the moral life of men must be woven' (Havelock Ellis, *The Dance of Life*, Modern Library, 1929, p. 35).

[26] I, 238–239 (quoted on p. 30).

[27] I, 218. Whoever are meant by 'the interpretours of Plato', Croft thinks the idea may have arisen from such passages as those in *Epinomis*, 982E, and *Timaeus*, 40C.

of games. There were, for example, several medieval allegories of chess; the most ambitious of them, Jacobus de Cessolis' *Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium ac populorum super ludo scachorum*, was translated and printed by Caxton in 1474 as the *Game and Play of the Chess*. In this work, the various chessmen and their moves are made to represent the different classes in the commonwealth and their duties. Like the other works of its kind, it contains little information about chess and a great deal about conduct, most of it in the form of 'sayings' by classical authors and church fathers.[28] The book is in effect a practical treatise on ethics, based on the *Polycraticus* of the twelfth-century humanist, John of Salisbury.[29] One example will show us Cessolis' method:

> The moeuynge and yssue of the rooks whiche ben vicairs of the kynge is suche / that the ryght rook is black and the lifte rook is whyte / And whan the chesse ben sette as well the nobles as the comyn peple first in their propre places / The rooks by their propre vertue haue no wey to yssue but yf hyt be made to them by the nobles or comyn peple / For they ben enclosed in their propre sieges / And the reson why is suche That for as moche as they ben vicaires lieutenants or comyssioners of the kynge / Theyr auctoryte is of none effecte to fore they yssue out / And that they haue begonne tenhaunce theyr office / For as longe as they be within the palais of the kynge / So longe may they not vse ne execute theyr commyssion / But anon as they yssue they may vse theyr auctorite / And ye shall vnderstande that their auctorite is grete / for they represente the p[er]sone of the kynge / and therfore where the tablier is voyde they may renne alle the tablier.[30]

That Elyot knew Caxton's translation, he himself tells us. Chess he approved of, as a game that sharpens the wits and quickens the memory; 'it is the more commendable and also commodiouse if the players haue radde the moralization of the chesse, and whan they playe to thinke upon hit; which bokes be in englisshe'.[31] It is a logical step from the moralizing of chess to the moralizing of the dance. Elyot's horror of idleness as a state conducive to all manner of wickedness—a horror shared by Cessolis, and indeed by most reformers[32]—led him to search

[28] See H. J. R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford, 1913), pp. 529–563.

[29] Murray, *A History of Chess*, pp. 540–541. The modern editor of the Caxton translation, William E. A. Axon, identifies Cessolis' source as the *De regimine principum* of Egidio Colonna, a work composed about 1285. Murray, however, points out that Cessolis' work would have been written about the same time as Colonna's, or even earlier.

[30] *Caxton's Game and Playe of the Chesse*, ed. William E. A. Axon (London, 1883), pp. 177–178.

[31] *Governour*, I, 284–285.

[32] One of the reasons why chess was invented, according to Cessolis, was to 'kepe the peple from ydlenes . . . wherof cometh ofte tymes many euyllys and grete synnes' (p. 15).

for honest pastimes which he might recommend to the young gentlemen whose education he was undertaking. He fixed upon dancing, properly performed and properly understood, and chess, played according to Cessolis' instructions.

Other games besides chess might meet these requirements. 'Playing at cardes and tables [backgammon]' was ordinarily, in Elyot's opinion, not very desirable, but if men would in the playing devise 'a bataile, or contention betwene vertue and vice, or other like pleasaunt and honest inuention', these games would afford 'moche solace, and also study commodiouse'.[33]

In a later period, Sir John Davies indulges in this special allegorical practice in his well-known *Orchestra or a Poeme of Dauncing Iudicially prooving the true obseruation of time and measure, in the Authenticall and laudable vse of Dauncing* (1596). The poem celebrates the 'antiquity and excellence' of dancing, which the author sees as a symbol of concord between men and women and as the spirit of order that is manifest in all of nature. The import of the poem is roughly similar to that of Elyot's treatise, upon which, as Mr. Tillyard has observed,[34] the author has drawn, but the tone and the treatment are quite different. Mystical speculation on 'the musick of the spheares' or 'the starry dance', in the manner of Davies and Milton, has little place in Elyot's sober prose. In other, more celebrated, sections of the *Governour*, Elyot has paid poetical tribute to the idea of order, but in the chapters on dancing it is mentioned only once, in a passage already quoted.[35]

Indeed, as one looks back on Elyot's treatise, one is struck by the almost total absence of any esthetic appreciation of dancing. In many respects the author's approach seems more characteristic of the middle ages than of the Renaissance. And yet one must remember that as an English humanist of the early sixteenth century, Elyot was interested primarily in education, politics, and religion rather than in poetry or the

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Equally conscientious is Robert Copland, who, in an afterword to the short treatise, *The Manner to Dance Base Dances*, appended to his French grammar of 1521, wrote: 'These dances have I set at the end of this book to the intent that every learner of the said book after their diligent study may rejoice their spirits honestly in eschewing of idleness the portress of vices.' (The whole of Copland's treatise is printed in Dolmetsch, pp. 2–4.)

[33] *Governour*, I, 282–284. We are reminded of the game played by the Utopians 'wherin vices fyghte wyth vertues, as it were in battell array, or a set fyld' (Sir Thomas More, *Utopia*, tr. Ralph Robinson, ed. J. H. Lupton, Oxford, 1895, pp. 144–145).

[34] E. M. W. Tillyard, *Five Poems, 1470–1870* (London, 1948), pp. 36–37.

[35] I, 218 (quoted on p. 33).

fine arts. Moreover, the frank appreciation of literature and art for their own sakes was something which was as yet foreign to England; nothing so clearly marks the different worlds of the *Courtier* and the *Governour* as their authors' attitudes towards painting and music. More than half a century was to pass before an English writer—Sir John Davies—gave dancing the imaginative treatment it deserves, and that writer was, fittingly, a poet.

University of Colorado JOHN M. MAJOR

The *Antiparadoxon* of Marcantonius Majoragius

or, A Humanist Becomes a Critic of Cicero as a Philosopher[1]

IT WAS the opinion of Sabbadini[2] that the year 1528 was the year of decision with respect to the controversy over the imitation of Cicero as a writer. In that year Erasmus published his *Ciceronianus*. In this book the extreme Ciceronian is burlesqued in the person of Nosoponus. Scholars like Scaliger sputtered answers,[3] but so great was Erasmus' reputation as arbiter of letters and so laughable was Nosoponus that thenceforth there was a relaxation in the anxious imitation of Cicero's style. No major Ciceronian work was published subsequently, saving the Cicero-lexicon (1535)[4] of Marius Nizolius, and even he became a moderate.

There is another sense in which Erasmus' book was decisive for Ciceronianism, a sense not noted by Sabbadini. I refer to the appearance, after 1528, of certain criticisms of Cicero's substance. I call attention to the critics in Ferrara. Alberto Bendedei[5] had called into question some places in Cicero's *De officiis*; in fact, he had said that the third book was too long. This prompted Celio Calcagnini to write *Disquisitiones aliquot in libros Officiorum Ciceronis*,[6] which called into question 25 places.

[1] Read at the Pacific Northwest Renaissance Conference 26 April 1957.

[2] R. Sabbadini, *Storia del Ciceronianesimo e di altre questioni letterari nell' età della Rinascenza* (Torino, 1885), p. 60.

[3] V. Hall, 'Life of Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484–1558)', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, New Series XL (1950), 96–97.

[4] *Observationes in M. T. Ciceronem.*

[5] *Caelii Calcagnini Ferrariensis, protonotarii apostolici, Opera aliquot* (Basileae, MDXLIIII), p. 253. Alberto Bendedei was likely of the Bendedei family in Ferrara. Two 15th-century scholars of that family are noted by M. E. Cosenza, *Biographical & Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists* . . . (microfilm), s.v. Nicolaus and Timotheus Bendedeus.

[6] *Opera*, 253–269; it was dedicated to Bendedei. See Q. Breen, 'Celio Calcagnini (1479–1541)', *Church History* XXI (1952), 225–238. The date of *Disquisitiones* is 1536. Already in 1532 G. B. Gyraldus Cinzio had asked his opinion on imitating classical models; Celio responded with an essay called *De imitatione* (*Opera*, 269–276), which was altogether Erasmian in tone.

This essay aroused opposition. While Calcagnini was still alive Marcantonius Majoragius wrote *Decisiones XXV quibus M. Tullium Ciceronem ab omnibus Caelii Calcagnini criminationibus liberat.*[7] It was published in 1543. It had the approval of Marius Nizolius.[8] Though Majoragius was by no means an extreme Ciceronian,[9] his reply illustrates a point, to wit, that while writers might use other models besides Cicero it was unseemly to attack him. Majoragius not only resents Calcagnini's censure of Cicero's style[10] but also his censure of some points in Cicero's philosophy. Great was his indignation against Calcagnini for saying that the *De officiis* was carelessly written and for submitting as evidence Cicero's confusion respecting moral philosophy. 'O', says Majoragius, 'for heaven's and mankind's sake! that a man wrapped in such dark ignorance should dare to muddy the perennial spring of learning! O intolerable base villainy! O unbearable audacity! O monster to be destroyed!' These words are in part a professor's rhetorical tantrum, but they also come from honest shock.[11]

Then, in 1546, Majoragius[12] published *Antiparadoxon*, an attack

[7] *M. Ant. Maioragii orationes et praefationes . . .* (Coloniae Agrippinae, apud Ioannem Gymnicum, sub Monocerote, MDCXIV). Jacobus Grifolus wrote a similar booklet in 1546. See my 'Celio Calcagnini', p. 238.

[8] See Q. Breen, *Mario Nizolio: De veris principiis . . .* (Roma, 1956, Edizione Nazionale dei Classici del Pensiero Italiano), p. xxvii.

[9] Majoragius even quotes an Italian line from Dante's 'Paradiso' (*Decisiones*, No. xxv, p. 115): 'Sopra la fede, ogni virtu si funda'. Professor C. B. Beall has kindly supplied the location and comment: 'Dante's line really goes:

> Questa cara gioia [i.e., la fede]
> sopra la quale ogni virtù si fonda,
> onde ti venne? (xxiv, 89–91)

Majoragius has arranged line 90 as a sort of *sententia* by putting *fede* in place of *quale*; it has the same metrical configuration.'

[10] A good illustration is *Decisiones*, No. i, pp. 11–15, against *Disquisitiones* i (*Opera Calcagnini*, p. 253) in which Calcagnini said *De officiis* were better written *De officio*.

[11] Vehement is *Decisiones*, No. xxii, pp. 102–115, against Celio's *Disquisitiones* xxii (*Opera*, pp. 263–265) in which Calcagnini relates how he talks when he is among his intimate friends who, with him, are immensely fond admirers of Cicero. In such gatherings he is wont to say that no other volume of Cicero is so carelessly written as the *De officiis*. The uncertainty of the times (Calcagnini says in effect) had driven Cicero this way and that, and this took its toll not only in his moral philosophy (*morum cognitionem*) but also in his style (*dicendi facultatem*). An illustration of Cicero's intellectual uncertainty is his confusion with respect to *prudentia* and *scientia*.

[12] *Deliciae epistolicae sive epistolarum . . . fasciculus Maioragii et al.* (Lipsiae, MDCCXXXI). There is a 'Praefatio ad Lectorem de Vita Scriptisque Maioragii' by the editor, Ioan. Petrus Kohlius (pp. 1–96). Kohlius asked Ioan. Erhardus Kappius for his critical comments and additions, which are given as 'Ad Editorem Epistola' (pp. i–xxxiv). Kappius' contribution gives what may be a fairly complete list of the works of Majoragius. Kohlius' request might well be taken as a model of editorial conscientiousness.

against Cicero as a philosopher. It is a dialogue which purports to have been held in the garden of the Fannianus family, in the suburbs of Milan. The first half of the title alerts one to this: *The Antiparadoxon of M. Ant. Majoragius, or Six Books of Suburban Questions.* Throughout the dialogue the suburban setting plays a part: a certain excitement is aroused when guests and participants arrive from the city or must hurry back to it. Various parts of the garden are described, particularly such as seem most suitable for conversation. One feels that the author had in mind the setting of the *Tusculan Disputations*, and one could wish that Cicero had been as attentive to description of physical details as Majoragius.

The second half of the title reports that in this book *all of M. Tullius Cicero's paradoxes are shown to be false.*[13] That is, it is an attack against each of the six Stoic paradoxes of Cicero's booklet of that title.[14] The paradoxes are: I. Only that is good which is honorable (*honestum*); II. Only virtue is necessary for the happy life; III. All sins (*peccata*) are equal; so, too, all things done rightly; IV. All fools are mad; V. The wise alone are free and all fools are slaves; VI. Only the wise are rich.[15]

While there is a good deal of dialogue in the *Antiparadoxon*, its main burden consists of six speeches, one against each of the paradoxes. The dialogue here serves to arouse expectation, to inject a personal equation, and to prevent monotony. The first, fifth, and sixth speeches are given respectively by three of Majoragius' pupils (Marcus Fannianus, Octavianus, and Constantinus); the second, third, and fourth are given respectively by three mature scholars (Hieronymus Cardanus,[16] and An-

[13] *M. Antonii Majoragii Antiparadoxon, sive suburbanarum quaestionum libri sex, in quibus M. Tullii Ciceronis omnia paradoxa refelluntur* (apud Seb. Gryphium, Lugduni, 1546).

[14] *M. Tullii Ciceronis Paradoxa Stoicorum ad Brutum.*

[15] Cicero's Latin for *paradoxa* is *admirabilia*. He may truly have subscribed to them, though, like others, not to follow them. See J. G. Baiter, *M. T. Ciceronis opera* (Lipsiae, 1865), VIII, 115, who also says that the strictures on them in *Pro Murena* (29, 61; 30, 62) and the counsel to moderate them in *De finibus* III (e.g., cc. 1–10) and IV (e.g., cc. 19, 20) pertain mainly to bold and exaggerated ways of speaking. Cicero's *Paradoxa* are a kind of playful exercise; their 'striking theorems', says Teuffel-Schwabe (*History of Roman Literature*, London, 1891, I, 304), are expounded in 'rhetorical rather than philosophical' form. As an exercise in strict reasoning the *Paradoxa* is of no value, and Majoragius had little difficulty in showing this to be so.

[16] This is the well-known physician and mathematician. He was one of Majoragius' teachers. See my book named in note 8 above, p. xlvi, for Majoragius' boast of having had as teachers Angelus Appianus, Primus Comes (his cousin and one of the persons in *Antiparadoxon*), Aruns Bataleus, Hieronymus Cardanus, Vincentius Magius, and Andrea Alciati (to whom *Antiparadoxon* is dedicated). For further data see Kohlius' 'Praefatio', pp. 11–17; see note 12 above. *The Book of My Life* (*De vita propria liber*), *by Jerome Cardan*, ed. and tr. Jean Stoner (New York, 1930) has the following: in ch. 48, 'Testimony of

tonius and Franciscus, who were cousins of Majoragius). It is perhaps fair to say that the students' censures of Cicero are intended to show how strong their critical sense could become under their master, and that the censures made by the mature scholars show that Cicero criticism was not restricted to the classroom of Majoragius. Throughout Majoragius gives the impression of encouraging the participants to speak their minds freely, but that—if he cared to—he could defend Cicero without much difficulty. Various members of the group, especially Marcus, his favorite pupil, beg him to make a defense; sometimes the older ones almost badger him into doing so. But he never does this. By this device a certain tension is created, which one can feel even upon a second reading. Withal the impression is left that Majoragius is thinking aloud his anti-Ciceronian thoughts and that he cannot answer himself.

The *Antiparadoxon* stands in diameter to the *Decisiones*. During the three years 1543–1546 something had happened to their author. The quondam condemner of Calcagnini for playing the censor of Cicero as a philosopher had himself become what he once condemned. It looks as if Majoragius had undergone a kind of conversion. How did it come about? Or, in what did it consist? Upon these questions I propose to cast such light as I have.

The letter dedicatory[17] lights a lamp for us. It is addressed to Andrea Alciati. This famous jurist had been one of Majoragius' teachers in Ferrara.[18] Much of his Latin has been called very good and even Ciceronian, though he himself said that his constant use of the postglossators had left

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Illustrious Men Concerning Me', Cardanus says Majoragius 'refers to me in his *Antiparadoxon*' (p. 250), and 'I entertained a warm affection for . . . Marc Antonio Morago' (p. 64)—this spelling should be added to the list in Cosenza (*op. cit.*). In ch. 45, 'Books Written by Me', he names *On the Zeal of Socrates* (p. 221), on which the editor comments: 'Cardan, in this essay . . ., appears to have taken the role of detractor, as if for the sake of an exercise in syllogizing, just as he espoused the cause of Nero in his *Encomium Neronis*' (p. 318). He wrote *On the Immortality of the Soul* 'more for the purpose of a study of the subject than as an expression of final opinion' (p. 227). Cardanus reports at length on his *On the Best Way of Life* (pp. 230–232), in which he agrees with Plato's *Phaedo* that 'the body . . . is not the chief part of man' (p. 232). See note 40 below. See also Oyestein Ore, *Cardano, the Gambling Scholar* (Princeton, 1953). Ore says that Cardanus 'did not believe in the infallibility of the classical theories of Hippocrates and Galen and rebelled against the authority of Aristotle' (p. 47). On his mathematical work, especially the *Ars magna*, see p. 48. Pp. 181–241 contain a translation of the *Liber de ludo aleae* (*The Book on Games of Chance*) made by Sydney Henry Gould; Ore calls this book 'the first text on the theory of probability', and in ch. 4, 'The Science of Gambling', he enlarges on this.

[17] *Antipar.*, pp. 3–6.

[18] Alciati taught in Ferrara 1542–1546. See Paul Émile Viard, *André Alciat, 1492–1550* (Paris, 1926), pp. 101–106. See note 16 above.

marks of their Latin upon him. He agreed with Erasmus' *Ciceronianus*, and in a letter to the celebrated Dutchman he makes this clear.[19] I take it that the connection with Alciati was a factor in developing critical sense.[20] Here is the letter dedicatory:

This book may make you think I am mad. . . . For I am the one whom you know to be an admirer of Cicero and the one who had condemned men like Celio, Merula, and Lucilius[21] for muttering against my Cicero. Recently when I was not busy, [and] because I had held in contempt—I do not know how wisely—your Bartholuses and Balduses as lovers only of contention, I myself also took the offensive against Cicero; I attempted to overthrow all his Paradoxes which most men have venerated as sacrosanct and considered to be particularly in agreement with our religion. What do you suppose? I was playing as it were a game because I wanted to find out by experiment what the shameless wordiness of men desirous of contradiction can do, and I right clearly perceived that there is nothing so truly and so seriously said but it can be shaken and weakened by speaking. Thus in Plato's *Gorgias* Callicles by many words arraigns philosophy; so too, in the *Republic*, Thrasymachus condemns justice and praises injustice to the skies. In Theon's *Progymnasmata* this is the precept of Simonides, that we should make a game of everything and in life carry on seriously in nothing. Truth to say, I cannot pretend to have done this on purpose or by design, but rather by chance. For since for a long time I had written absolutely nothing, I decided now to exercise myself in something, lest my talent [of writing], such as it is, should utterly dry up in speaking. With this in mind, as it were playfully, I had begun to write this disputation against the Paradoxes of Cicero, so that after having presented a case against them I might in turn refute what I had said. But the actual fact is that something happened to me of the sort that usually happens to most philosophers and theologians who take up difficult questions concerning God and the immortality of the soul, and being uncertain of how to carry them off slide into the opinion of Diagoras of Melos and Theodore of Cyrene [both reputed atheists]. In the same manner I could not refute the arguments I had brought against Cicero. Behold how the blind love of what is our own draws us on, for at once I went over to the belief that my reasons are true and that the Paradoxes of Cicero are false.

I even began to think of publishing these absurdities, for I was led on by your liking of audacity and also—why not be frank about it?—by my desire for a little glory. Indeed I believe this to be the true philosophy of our times, to wit, to destroy the old because we cannot imagine anything new. Besides, while through our own works we cannot lift our heads above the earth we at least can make ourselves rise through the ruin of others. I have become the bolder because two excellent scholars have pronounced these trifles of mine to be not altogether bad: Bartolomeus Terrinus[22] and Riccius, who is the best observator[23] of Cicero. But precisely then will I think this work amounts to something if you . . . will approve, or at least not disapprove of it.

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[19] Viard, *op. cit.*, note 1 on pp. 167–168.

[20] The same may have been an effect of his friendship with Cardanus.

[21] These refer to Celio Calcagnini, Gaudentius Merula Novariensis, Lucilius Philaltheus (whose identification as an Aristotelian scholar I owe to Prof. P. O. Kristeller). Majoragius wrote 'Apologia in Gaudentium Merulam'; see *Deliciae epistolicae*, pp. 310–352. Merula had written a dialogue in which Majoragius was accused of depreciating Cicero and Terence.

[22] Not identified.

[23] Bartholomeus Riccius published *Apparatus linguae latinae* (1532); see Cosenza. For 'observator' see my *Mario Nizolio*, p. xviii–xix.

I will stir up the minds of many for discussing the most glorious subjects . . ., for out of that most holy (*sacratissima*) workshop of Plato I have taken many things which, I promise, the readers will find not altogether unpleasing . . . Vale . . . Ferrara, Ides of May 1545.

So far as it goes, the letter likely gives a true report of how Majoragius became a critic of Cicero as a philosopher. He even intimates that the *Antiparadoxon* may in part be a result of a psychological reaction against his quondam vehemence against Calcagnini's *Disquisitiones*.[24] Precisely how the change began cannot be determined, but the delight he felt in it is evident. In more than one place of the dialogue it is said that this is the first attack against the Paradoxes of Cicero.[25] Other works of Cicero are also subjected to criticism.[26] On the whole he has no quarrel with Cicero,[27] but the joy felt in criticizing Cicero at all is clear.

The Paradoxes are attacked as invalid on two counts: they are not Socratic, and they are not true. Cicero had supported them on the ground of their being both Socratic and true. This suggested to Majoragius his two fronts of opposition and censure: (1) The Paradoxes are argued to be un-Socratic because the mind and spirit of Socrates are really the same as Plato's. In turn Plato's mind and spirit are authentically reflected in Florentine[28] Platonism. (2) The Paradoxes are argued to be untrue, and in the argument Cicero is made to appear to be a rhetorician rather than a dialectician. The Paradoxes and parts of certain other works[29] show that while he is still the greatest orator he is unreliable as a philosopher. The two lines of attack raised the questions at issue

[24] The letter dedicatory connects his censures of Calcagnini (and also of Merula and Lucilius) with his condemnations of the Bartholuses and the Balduses. In fact, his condemnation of the latter is introduced by 'quia', and then he says, 'etiam ipse scribere tandem in Ciceronem aggressus . . .'

There is a rough parallel between the dialogue form of the *Antiparadoxon*, on the one hand, and the meetings of Calcagnini with intimate associates to censure Cicero's carelessness as a philosopher. See above note 11. On the report of these meetings in *Disq.* XXII Majoragius comments in *Decisio* XXII, 'By the immortal gods, had I been one of this Calcagnini's friends among whom he would speak of Cicero being careless . . . I would have made you, Calcagnini, suffer forever for such rashness.' A psychologist might make something of the *volte-face* in the *Antiparadoxon*.

[25] *Antipar.* I, p. 14; II, p. 58; V, p. 199. It is assumed in the letter dedicatory. I cannot check this claim of Majoragius.

[26] In *Antipar.* III, p. 95, it is said that more than a score of mistakes are to be found in Cicero's *Topica*, and that there is wrong reasoning in Book IV of *De finibus*. In *Antipar.* IV, p. 170, a passage in *Disp. Tusc.* is criticized.

[27] *Antipar.* V, p. 199, 'for the most part Cicero agrees with us'.

[28] This term is not used in the dialogue.

[29] See note 26 above.

in the violent conflict between Majoragius and Nizolius. In effect they are: whether Socrates is really to be identified with Plato, and whether indeed a man is a better philosopher if he does not express himself rhetorically. The latter became the question of questions.[30]

Let us take a closer look at the Platonist material. It is found chiefly in Book I of *Antiparadoxon*, in which the speaker is Marcus Fannianus, Majoragius' favorite student. We get the impression that he is closer to his master in mind and spirit than any other student.[31] Marcus feels that Cicero's first paradox (only that is good which is honorable) is neither Socratic nor true, but he wants to be certain that he can be free to speak his mind in Majoragius' presence. The latter reminds him that truth is worth more than Cicero (p. 16). Marcus first proves this paradox to be un-Socratic (pp. 20–23); then that it is not true (pp. 23–24), and moreover that it is neither Platonic nor Socratic (pp. 24–28). The most notable part of Marcus' speech follows (pp. 28–36). If I quote extensively it is to show something of the degree to which Majoragius had absorbed the current Platonism.

That Cicero's paradox is farthest from the truth, I shall show, and you will forgive me if I shall appear to pursue a subject far too exalted. For the truth is profound and requires the deepest thought. Moreover, to find the highest good is most difficult, that is, if we want the real thing and not a mere name. But we shall succeed best if we follow the distinction which the Platonists say ought to be made in everything and which seems to agree remarkably with the Christian religion. The divine Platonists in fact hold that there are three things in which the whole nature of the good consists: God, Mind (*Mens*), and things created. For about the soul of the world (*Mundi anima*),[32] which they say proceeds from God and Mind and which we generally call Holy Spirit, we need not speak here. From God as author of all things and as their first cause and highest principle the whole nature of the good is held to proceed, and this nature of the good reposes in Mind, i.e., in the Son of God whom we call Christ.[33] This is a most glorious mystery, which agrees excellently with our religion. For the Platonists say that the nature of the good itself is not in God except as to cause, but all goodness abides (*consistere*) in the Son of God whom they also call Mind, and by this Mind it is communicated to all other created things insofar as they can receive it. . . . And so there are three things in the good: Cause, Form, Communication. Cause is in God alone; Form is in Mind, or the Son of God; Communication is in things created by the Son of God. For they (the Platonists) hold Mind to be the framer (*opifex*) of all things. An example will help explain these three. We can say that the sun is the cause of heat, for even if the

[30] See my introduction to *Mario Nizolio*, pp. lxv–lxvii.

[31] He had studied six years under Majoragius (p. 36).

[32] See Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Il pensiero filosofico di Marsilio Ficino* (Firenze, 1953), pp. 318–321.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 149–152, 118–119; for views of Pico see pp. 119–123 and references in the notes. Cf. *Pico: De hominis dignitate, Heptaplus, De ente e uno e scritti vari* a cura di Eugenio Garin (Firenze, 1942), pp. 466–467.

sun itself were not hot yet it is the cause of heat. We can say furthermore that the form of heat is in fire, and that there is an imparting (*communicatio*) of heat in the wood when it is set on fire.[34] Why then is it that when we inquire into the nature of the good, we say it is caused by God, that it is so to say shaped in and stamped on Mind, the Son of God, and that it is participated in (*participari*) by the angels and by our soul; but what is the effect of this goodness, that is, of what use is it to our soul when it is made participator (*particeps*) of this goodness which the divine mind dispenses to it? Every one knows that our soul is wise and happy when it participates in the nature of the true good, for Socrates says, in *Euthydemus*,[35] that Wisdom and Happiness are the same; wherefore it seems that the Good can be so suitably defined as that which affects happiness and wisdom. If we hold with the Platonists, Mind, the Son of God, stands in need of (*eget*) God as author, to be happy and wise; and so in a way God can be said to be good, for as Plato says in *Euthyphro*,[36] from him all good proceeds. Furthermore, in a way, God cannot at all be said to be good, because he is stationed (*collocatus est*) above all goodness and happiness. And this was said by Plotinus and other wise Platonists, to wit, that God feels (*sentire*) nothing, understands (*intelligere*) nothing, does (*agere*) nothing;[37] but they say that he is cause of all these things as he is of everything else, and that for this reason God is of all things the most eminent (*praestantissimus*). Consequently, though in himself he has nothing, yet in a distinguished (*eximio*) manner he is said to have everything in himself because he is the cause of all things. Whence Dionysius the Areopagite, who in his writings divulged very many divine mysteries,[38] says: we cannot truly affirm anything of God; much more truly can we explain what God is not than what he is . . . Thus we see a most beautiful congruity of the Platonists with our religion . . . They differ from us only in one respect, because they say Mind is created. We, however, do not say this; we say it (Mind) is as a son begotten (*genitum*) by a father. For we believe Christ to be the Son of God, but eternal and not at any time to have been created.[39] The Platonists even (*vero*) say that God from the beginning created a perfect mind which they call Wisdom and Reason; on this (mind) God impressed the forms (*species*) which they call Ideas; and this Mind procreated all other things. Our theologians seem to confirm this, who teach that the Son of God, in whom is the true nature of the good, made this entire world and whatsoever is in it. To whatever degree (*quamvis*) that Mind emanated (*profecta*) from God, yet in our view and in the view of the Platonists he (*ipse*) is very God because he has the same nature as God. The difference is one of manner (*ratio*) only, not of substance.

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[34] Kristeller, *op. cit.*, pp. 130–134. Note 4, p. 134, points out that this threefold distinction (communication, form, and cause) derives from Proclus and is often found in St. Thomas Aquinas. Prof. Kristeller also refers to C. Fabro, *La nozione metafisica di partecipazione secondo S. Tommaso d'Aquino* (Milano, 1939), pp. 327, 319, cf. pp. 229, 234; L. B. Geiger, *La Participation dans la philosophie de S. Thomas d'Aquin* (Paris, 1942). Cf. E. Garin, *op. cit.*, pp. 461–462.

[35] *Euthydemus*, 283.

[36] Majoragius may have thought this notion sufficiently implied in the 'Idea', which Socrates brings into the dialogue (5D3), but as such it is there not made explicit. For the 'Idea' in the *Euthyphro* see J. Burnet, *Plato's Euthyphro, Apology of Socrates, and Crito* (Oxford, 1924), p. 31 of notes.

[37] See reference in E. Garin, *op. cit.* in note 34 above.

[38] See reference in E. Garin, *op. cit.* in note 34 above.

[39] See Eugenio Garin, *La Filosofia: storia dei generi letterari Italiani* (Milano, 1947), I, 374–378 for information on G. Pico della Mirandola's view of Christ's divinity. Further on Pico see the references in notes 33, 34.

Wherefore this is the true nature of the good, to which Cicero perhaps never turned his mind. . . . The whole nature of the good proceeds from God, and its form is the son of God. . . . And as to participating in that good, it is we, that is, our souls which by divine grace are by an instinct of nature carried off (*rapiuntur*) to that good.

These things being so, it is absolutely transparent that the honorable, which Cicero said is the only good, cannot be the good.

Toward the end of this Platonic part of the speech Marcus says it may seem that he has been going out of bounds by playing the theologian. 'But', he says, 'you should know that last winter I learned these things from our Majoragius. If he had guessed that I would use them against Cicero perhaps he would never have taught them to me' (p. 32). Majoragius smiles and tells him to go on. When the Platonic speech is ended the excitement of the company is great. And, of course, Majoragius makes no refutation.[40]

In a later work[41] Majoragius names two sources of his Florentine Platonism, G. Pico della Mirandola and Eugubinus (Augustinus Steuchus of Gubbio). Since Calcagnini is involved in this present essay, it is *à propos* to say that he was in correspondence with Steuchus.[42] One swallow does not make a spring, but two could make a difference. I suspect that the current Platonism played a role in philosophic criticism of Cicero in

[40] The *Antiparadoxon* has other Christian Platonist passages; e.g., the divine mind as Christ (pp. 67–68), the body as sepulchre or prison of the soul (pp. 70–77), the future life (pp. 78–79), the freedom of man (pp. 187–199), true riches (pp. 227–231). Aristotle is called 'impius' because he laughed at Solon's saying that upon death alone can it be determined whether a life had been happy (p. 74). The reference is to *Ethics* I, x, 1–5 and Herodotus I, 30–33. Those who deny a future life or say man can be happy only in this life are said to fall under an interdict by the Christian laws, and are to be held impious and wicked. One should have no communication with them. If they persist they are condemned to be burned *vivus videnque* (p. 76). There must have been Christian Platonists of various kinds; I wonder whether this view was generally held by them.

[41] *Reprehensionum contra Marium Nizolium Brixellensem libri duo* (Mediolani, 1549), pp. 196–197. The reference to Steuchus in my *Mario Nizolio* (p. xliv) is insultingly meager. I owe further light on him to Professor Kristeller, and I have since then found an admirable discussion in E. Garin, *La Filosofia*, II, 85–88, with bibliography, pp. 93–94. Steuchus believed that Ficino's Platonism was the answer to the doctrines of Luther and Calvin. His learned work *De perenni philosophia* (Lugduni, 1540) traces the eternal Platonic philosophy back to Adam. His works were published in 3 vols., Paris, 1577.

[42] Steuchus was in Venice as librarian, later as bishop. He helped Calcagnini in business affairs, also in getting books. Calcagnini sent Steuchus Erasmus' *Familiar Colloquies* to be printed; see letter of October 1525 (*Opera Calcagnini*, p. 116); in another letter (no date) he writes more about this (p. 118); Steuchus sent him a book (not named), September 1525 (pp. 117–118). In October 1525 Calcagnini writes that three letters came from Steuchus in the space of a few days; Calcagnini says Steuchus 'professes all philosophy, masters mathematics, and by a divine comprehension of soul pierces things theological' (pp. 121–122).

the case of Calcagnini as well as Majoragius. In an undated letter to G. Francesco Pico he writes of Trapezuntius: 'I cannot excuse his hostilities against the Platonists, his attempts to insult the majesty of Plato and to pervert the truth.'[43] In a later phase of the controversy Trapezuntius is something of an issue.[44] In his *Disquisitiones* Calcagnini attacked Cicero for not reading Plato aright.[45] It is also interesting that in his attacks against Majoragius Nizolius explicitly agrees with Cicero in saying that till Socrates and Plato philosophy was in a right way, that the great aberration begins with Socrates, and that since Socrates it has been plagued by a jargon. To illustrate the jargon he points to the ideas *par excellence*,[46] and, we may ask, where would the Platonism of the fifteenth and sixteenth century be without the ideas?

It remains now to discuss the attack on Cicero's method of argument and argumentation. He is said to argue falsely, ignorantly, and unskillfully.[47] He has not learned the difference between good coin and stage money.[48] Cicero is a better rhetorician than philosopher.[49] He should leave reasoning to others: 'O Cicero, you should stick to your last. You are very strong in lawsuits (*causas*), you are a king in trials (*judiciis*), you are most praised as a speaker; but you should yield to others as to method and sharpness in methodical discourse (*disserendi*).'[50] 'I am sometimes ashamed to refute such childish arguments in so eminent an author.'[51] 'Cicero and his like take every opportunity for expansive oratory; in reasoning I prefer brevity and sharpness.'[52] 'You, Cicero, boast that you have taken these arguments from the philosophers. From which philosophers, I ask you. Your ineptitudes I do not find in Plato and Aristotle.'[53] Shall one fear the wrath of the Ciceronians for saying these things? 'Why', I ask, 'should I fear them? Do I not admit that Cicero is the greatest orator? . . . what more do they want? Should I also say that he is the greatest dialectician and philosopher? This I do not see.'[54] Of Cicero's

[43] *Ibid.*, pp. 111–112.
[44] My *Mario Nizolio*, pp. xxix, lxiv–lxv, 11, 51, 130, 137–140, 144, 179, 180.
[45] *Ibid.*, p. lx.
[46] *Ibid.*, p. xxix and 1, 29, and *passim*.
[47] *Antiparadoxon*, p. 37.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 38. The reference is to Horace, *Ep.* 1, 7, 23.
[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 94–95.
[50] *Ibid.*, p. 108; see also p. 156.
[51] *Ibid.*, p. 110.
[52] *Ibid.*, p. 115.
[53] *Ibid.*, p. 126.
[54] *Ibid.*, pp. 132–133.

proof for Paradox IV he says, 'Not even one word is pertinent to the subject.'[55] 'You may have a great store of words, you may excel in the free flow of words, you may discharge whole wagonloads of trifles, but you should understand that by so many tricks you conclude nothing.'[56] 'You play with ambiguities, and you seem to pursue only words while neglecting the thing itself.'[57] In several passages errors in logic are pointed out by name. Thus Cicero is said to use enthymemes in a tricky (*falso*) manner,[58] and to substitute doubtful *exempla* in the place of good *inductio*.[59] The way is left open, however, for recognition of Ciceronian doctrines which are true,[60] but what has been said is enough to establish that Cicero is not considered reliable either in what he holds or in how he argues it.

Herewith Majoragius has stated that a rhetorician is not likely to be a good philosopher. In this he agrees with Pico's celebrated letter to Ermolao Barbaro.[61] The *Antiparadoxon* has the distinction of joining the issue with clarity and force, and in an interesting manner. Its distinction is increased because it aroused Nizolius, who was by no means a better scholar than Majoragius but excelled him in philosophical sense and sobriety. The *Antiparadoxon* led to a bitter conflict between these two men, and but for it and the effective criticism of Majoragius in subsequent writings Nizolius might never have written the *De veris principiis . . . philosophandi*, whose thesis is the Ciceronian doctrine that philosophy must address itself to the general intelligence of all men. That is, philosophy and rhetoric must not be divorced but wedded. It is one of the contributions of humanism to much of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century philosophical discourse. Though Nizolius was not the only advocate of it, our hindsight informs us that he was one of the best.[62]

All this is in its way a part of the long story of Ciceronianism. Nizolius began with a predominating interest in the imitation of Cicero's style; he ended with a predominating concern for a much more dynamic imitation of Cicero, that is, Cicero's insistence that philosophy must rid

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 155.
[56] *Ibid.*, pp. 158–159.
[57] *Ibid.*, p. 211.
[58] *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 41, 82, 108, 122.
[59] *Ibid.*, pp. 48–49, 119.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 199.
[61] See my article on and translation of it in the *JHI* XIII (1952), 384–412.
[62] Leibnitz also said this in 'De stilo philosophico Nizolii', *G. G. Leibnitii opera philosophica*, ed. J. E. Erdmann (Berolini, 1840), pars prior, pp. 55–71.

itself of esoteric jargons and speak to all. Back of this paper lies the query of how Nizolius turned to this more dynamic imitation. The answer lies in his reaction to the *Antiparadoxon*. This paper more particularly inquires into the process whereby its author, Majoragius, turned from a somewhat naive admiration of Cicero as both a stylist and thinker to becoming his critic as to philosophical substance and as to method of philosophizing.

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Imagination in the English Renaissance: Psychology and Poetic

SHAKESPEARE couples lunatic, lover, and poet as 'of imagination all compact' (*Dream* v.i.7–8); Spenser finds that Phantastes' chamber is filled with 'leasings, tales, and lies' (*F.Q.* II.ix.51.9) and that his eyes seem 'mad or foolish' (*F.Q.* II.ix.52.7); Drayton speaks of the 'doting trumperie' of imagination;[1] when men's minds become 'inflamed', says Bacon, 'it is all done by stimulating the imagination till it becomes ungovernable, and not only sets reason at nought, but offers violence to it'.[2] These views of imagination and its activity, echoed in other important literature of the age of Elizabeth, hardly suggest a favorable view of the faculty assigned to the poet. The explanation of such derogatory views lies in the popular psychology of the period. This study therefore proposes, first, to examine the psychological account of the operation of imagination and thus to show not only the disrepute but the specific grounds of the disrepute of the faculty and, secondly, to indicate briefly how the particular grounds for disrepute influence the view of imagination expressed by poets and literary critics, are indeed converted into a justification of the poet's imagination.

The general view seems to be that the Elizabethan criticism, much of which is highly defensive of poetry, is evoked by the so-called 'Puritan' attack upon poetry. That the Puritan attack played a large part in eliciting the defenses is certain, but the condemnation is sometimes much less direct, and much less influential upon the criticism, than is sometimes thought. After all, much of the stock in trade of the attacks consisted of criticism of the morality of actors, of the opportunity for vice presented by the gathering of a theater audience, and even of the littering of the

[1] Michael Drayton, *The Tragicall Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy* (*The Works of Michael Drayton*, ed. J. William Hebel, Oxford, 1931–1941, I, 262).

[2] Francis Bacon, *Of the Dignity and Advancement of Learning* (*The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding et al., London, 1889–1892, IV, 406).

streets by playbills—to which arguments we do not find much direct response in the poetic. Examination reveals that the Elizabethan defenses of poetry do surely as much to overcome the disrepute of imaginative activity which is fostered by the popular[3] psychology as they do to meet the charges of the Puritan attack. But that Elizabethan criticism does this we can show only by presenting the particular grounds of disrepute to which the critics respond.

I

The technicalities, individual refinements, and variations among the psychologists describing imagination are beyond the scope of this study; for it is concerned to establish those characteristics which are common to most of the writers and which therefore are most apt to have been common knowledge among the fairly well-read men we may assume the Elizabethan critics to have been.

Always the imagination or fantasy[4] is seen as a power operating in a framework of other faculties and functions. In a definite hierarchical order of communication, knowledge travels from the so-called 'outer' senses (the five primary senses), to the 'inner' (Common Sense, Imagi-

[3] The current psychology is a thread which weaves itself everywhere into the tissue of Elizabethan thought and influences views on subjects from education to witchcraft. The currency and influence of the contemporary psychology are suggested not only by the number of works published on the subject but by the number of editions through which most of these went. Significantly, in translating Guglielmo Grataroli, William Fulwood declares that the faculties of the brain have been so often 'scene in the bookes of many' that his discussion would be 'superfluous' (*Castel of Memorie*, London, 1573, sig. B^{v}). The 'many' include of course a long line of earlier commentators stretching back to Aristotle (*De anima*). We expect the Elizabethan critic, then, to be aware of the psychology.

[4] Although in classical times the functions of imagination and fantasy were carefully distinguished on the bases of passive or active function, by Elizabethan times the distinctions had, for the most part, been lost and terms like 'phantasy', 'fantsie', even 'fancy', are used interchangeably with 'imagination'. Thus in his translation of Grataroli, Fulwood lists as the first faculty of the brain 'Fantasie (or immagination[])' (sig. B^{v}). On a single page of *Mirum in Modum* John Davies of Hereford uses 'Imagination' and 'Fantasie' interchangeably (*The Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford*, ed. Rev. A. B. Grosart, Edinburgh, 1878, I, 6)—this despite his declaration that, unlike others, he will make 'distinction' (I, 7). Even though he lists them as separate faculties, Pierre de LaPrimaudaye concludes that he will 'vse these two names *Fantasie* and *Imagination* indifferently', since so many regard them as 'the same facultie and vertue of the soule', and still later uses the term 'fancie' as a synonym (*The Second Part of the French Academie*, tr. T. B., London, 1594, pp. 155, 157). See also Robert Burton, who discusses the '*Phantasy*, or imagination' (*The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. Floyd Dell and Paul Jordan-Smith, New York, 1938, p. 139) and uses 'fancy' as synonym (pp. 222, 223).

nation and/or Fantasy, Sensible Reason, and Memory, which occupy cells in the brain), and thus to the highest rational, incorporeal powers (the Intellect or Wit or Understanding, and the Will). More specifically, the general course of communication runs from the perception of the outward senses to common sense, or directly to imagination, which unites the various reports of the senses into impressions that are in turn submitted to the examination of a rational power and then passed to memory which retains the impressions and reflects them back to the Imagination and Sensible Reason, should they turn to it to recall past incidents. Beyond these faculties and functions lies the overseeing and judging power of the highest Understanding, which in turn informs the Will.

Ultimately, then, all knowledge, thought, and action depend upon the transmission of data through a hierarchy of powers. And in this 'instrumental'[5] system, imagination is a key faculty; for, as Wright puts it, 'whatsoever we vnderstand, passeth by the gates of our imagination'.[6] Moreover, by imagination 'wee apprehend likenesse and shapes of things of perticulars receyued',[7] the 'formes of things',[8] and a sound, healthy imagination is one which reflects to higher powers only accurate images of reality, else, in the instrumental scheme, sound knowledge, proper thought and action become impossible. Therefore, imagination in its healthy reproductive capacity ought—like a mirror—to reflect accurate sensible impressions of the external world, and upon the need for such accuracy in the images of imagination the greatest stress is placed.

> Knowledges next organ is *Imagination*;
> A glasse, wherein the obiect of our Sense
> Ought to reflect true height, or declination,
> For vnderstandings cleare intelligence,

says Greville.[9] An 'obiect' must be 'made no greater nor lesse then it is in deed' (Bright, p. 86; see also pp. 78–79). The concern of the Elizabethan

[5] See, for example, LaPrimaudaye, p. 149; Timothy Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholie*, printed by Thomas Vautrollier (London, 1586), pp. 77, 104; Levinus Lemnius, *The Touchstone of Complexions*, tr. Thomas Newton (London, 1581), fol. 14[r]; Juan Huarte Navarro, *Examen de Ingenios*, tr. R. C., Esquire (London, 1594), p. 75.

[6] Thomas Wright, *The Passions of the Minde in Generall* (London, 1604), p. 51.

[7] Stephen Batman, *Batman vppon Bartholome* (London, 1582), Bk. III, chap. 11.

[8] André DuLaurens, *A Discourse of the Preservation of the Sight: of Melancholike diseases . . . of Old Age*, tr. Richard Surphlet (London, 1599), p. 8.

[9] Sir Fulke Greville, *A Treatie of Humane Learning* (*Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville*, ed. Geoffrey Bullough, New York, 1945, I, 156).

is that the imagination deliver accurate images. When it faces toward reason, Bacon expects imagination to have 'the print of Truth' (*Works*, III, 382).

If the report of the senses is accurately delivered, man's reactions are healthy and proportional; but if false reports are rendered, matters are 'otherwise taken then the obiect requireth' (Bright, p. 86); man's reasoning is good 'so farre as the naturall principles lead, or outward obiectes be sincerely taken, & truely reported to the minds consideration' (Bright, p. 73). But when fantasy reports 'mishapen obiects', the mind is off balance and reason is 'troden vnder foote'.[10] If fantasy is 'marred', says Sir John Davies, wit perceives everything falsely.[11] Indeed, as a consequence of the theory that it was the inaccurate report of imagination which misled reason, it was common opinion that injured minds—for example, those of idiots or madmen—could reason as well as those of ordinary men, but were misled by the faulty reporting of faulty imagination. Reason would be only as accurate as the images presented to it. As an instrument for correct reason, then, imagination should present accurate, mirror-like images.

Furthermore, since reason is conventionally described as the power which distinguishes good from evil, the ultimate result of inaccurate images of reality is immorality. Since the higher soul is itself incorruptible, the odium falls on the false images of fantasy:

> But if a frenzy do possess the brain;
> It so disturbs and blots the forms of things,
> As Phantasy proves altogether vain,
> And to the Wit, no true relation brings.
>
> Then doth the Wit admitting all for true,
> Build fond conclusions on those idle grounds!
> Then doth it fly the Good, and Ill pursue!
> Believing all that this false spy propounds.
> (Sir John Davies, p. 193)

Indeed, 'Some ascribe all vices to a false and corrupt imagination . . . deluding the soul with false shews and suppositions', declares Burton (p. 221).

[10] Thomas Nashe, *Terrors of the Night* (*The Complete Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. Rev. A. B. Grosart, London and Aylesbury, 1883–1885, III, 233).

[11] *Nosce Teipsum*, in *An English Garner*, ed. Edward Arber (Birmingham, 1877–1896), V, 193. Subsequent references to Sir John Davies will be to *Nosce Teipsum* in Vol. V of Arber's text.

Obviously, then, a good deal of the reputation of imagination depends upon the accuracy of its images; for if this most important instrument of the soul, container of all images and source of knowledge, is inaccurate, distorts reality, it betrays reason and thus immorality results. According to the psychologists, with inaccurate representations of reality we are little better off than—indeed we may be—madmen or idiots. Nevertheless, to the psychologist, imagination, in both passive and active operation, is, for the most part, notoriously fragile, highly inaccurate in its reproductions of life; thereby misleads the soul in general and reason in particular; is, in short, as we shall now see, a most fallible and consequently disreputable faculty.

II

The widespread disrepute of imagination as a falsifying and misguiding faculty rested, even in its passive functions, upon many elements. A rather obvious one was its close tie to and dependence upon the senses, which had been condemned from classical through medieval times to the Renaissance, their disrepute dramatized in accounts of the conflict of the spirit with the animal flesh or philosophized in Platonic descriptions of the secondary and inadequate reality of sensory objects. This unfavorable view the psychologists continue, and to it they add. Wright's derogatory view of the senses as faculties which relate us to 'bruite beastes' (p. 7) is a usual one. Thus merely as a near neighbor of the senses in the instrumental scheme, imagination shares their general disrepute. 'For *Fantacie* beeing neere the outward *Sences*, | Allures the *Soule* to loue things bodily,' says Davies of Hereford (*Works*, I, 9–10). The world's things, then, 'do, by fits, her [the soul's] Phantasy possess', agrees Sir John Davies (p. 186).

And for the psychologists, as might be expected, the senses are suspect not only because they are tied to the flesh and in their very nature corrupt, but also because they fail in providing that accurate picture of life which Elizabethan psychology demands for healthy functioning. Only before the fall of man, concludes Bright, did the outer senses 'perfectly and sincerely' present 'the condition of sensible things' (p. 122). It follows, then, as Greville has it, 'So must th'Imagination from the sense | Be misinformed' (*Poems and Dramas*, I, 157). Thus the fallibility of the senses, since they supply the images of imagination, affects the reliability and hence the reputation of imagination. Moreover, about the senses hangs the suggestion of immorality, in which fantasy, their

neighbor, shares: imagination, like the senses, is attracted by things of the body.

But, according to the psychologists, the very nature of the imagination itself and its susceptibility to all sorts of influences produces monstrously deformed reflections of external reality in the mirror which it is supposed to be. Greville, after telling us, as does writer after writer, that imagination should function as a 'glasse', decries the lack of veracity in the distorted 'pictures' of '*Imagination*' which are 'still too foule, or faire; | Not like the life in lineament, or ayre' (*Poems and Dramas*, I, 156). Despite the fact that it is the function of the faculty to present accurate pictures of reality, imagination makes 'vntrue reports' (DuLaurens, p. 74). 'Corrupt' is a favored adjective for the faculty.[12] 'Fonde and absurde imaginations' and 'apparitiōs and sights' (Lemnius, fol. 132^{v}) are more often associated with imagination than the clear images required of sound and healthy imagination.

And the distortion of real objects when reflected in the imagination is the result of its own great fragility. The agencies which corrupt its images and thus upset its healthy functioning in the hierarchical organization are almost innumerable and practically inescapable. In fact, fantasy may operate 'as life is led, wel, or amisse' (Davies of Hereford, I, 8). Thus gluttony fills the head with 'fantasyes'.[13] A bad constitution will lead to the fantastic dreams of imagination (Lemnius, fols. 95^{r}, 113^{r}). Much always depends upon the impressionability of the brain, and to the lack of a proper degree of moisture for the impression of images are due, for example, the distorted imaginations of old age.

As has perhaps already been suggested, not only the distortion but also the disrepute of some of its agents helps to make imagination a disreputable faculty in the Elizabethan mind, and it soon becomes clear why Huarte remarks that 'the sciences which appertaine to the imaginatiue, are those, which such vtter as dote in their sicknesse, and not of those which appertaine to the vnderstanding, or to the memorie' (p. 63).[14] And as might be expected from Shakespeare's reference to lunatics, perhaps as frequent a disreputable relationship as any is that to mad-

[12] See Burton, p. 222, and Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London, 1930), p. 33.

[13] Andrew Boorde, *Dyetary*, in *The First Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge* and *A . . . Dyetary of Helth*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, Extra Series, No. 10 (London, 1870), p. 250; see also Batman, Bk. VI, chap. 27.

[14] Among such 'sciences' Huarte later lists poetry (p. 108).

ness; 'for', as Batman has it, 'by madnesse that is called *Mania*, principally ye imagination is hurt' (Bk. VII, chap. 6), while DuLaurens refers to the 'foolish and vaine imaginations' of 'franticke' men (p. 79). Indeed, so closely tied to imagination is the frenzy of madness that the prescription for madness is confinement of the patient to a room where there are no pictures to stimulate the imagination (Batman, Bk. VII, chap. 5; Boorde, *Dyetary*, p. 298), and hence, often, to a wholly dark room. It is this conventional association of idiocy and madness with fantasy that Spenser recognizes when he tells us that Phantastes 'mad or foolish seemd' (*F.Q.* II.ix.52.7). As a result of madness, of course, the images of imagination are distorted and the instrumental process is disturbed; for 'frenzy' mangles 'the forms of things' so that fantasy makes a false report to the understanding (Sir John Davies, p. 193).

Not only does the accepted association with madness cast further aspersion on the reputation of imagination and its images, but madness is frequently linked with the disease of melancholy and its distorted imagination. However, in its own right melancholy had a claim on the power to distort images of imagination, a claim easily as great as that of madness, since almost anything from diet (e.g., DuLaurens, p. 104; Lemnius, fol. 143v) to sin (e.g., Bright, pp. 187–189; Burton, pp. 156, 176) could cause melancholy. And when we consider that melancholy was considered a disease and was itself tied to 'enuy, emulation, bitternesse, hatred, spyght, sorcery, fraude, subtlety, deceipte, treason, sorrow, heauinesse, desperation, distrust, and last of all to a lamētable and shamefull end' (Lemnius, fol. 23v), the relation between imagination and melancholy is clearly not to the advantage of imagination. And that association, with its consequent distortion of images, is almost inevitable: as Lemnius has it, 'No man but is subiect to Melācholy' (fol. 136v).

Typical of the connection made between melancholy and imagination, with consequent disrepute for imagination from the distortion and resultant lack of veracity of images on the one hand and its bad associations on the other, is the comment of Lemnius, according to whom melancholy persons 'feeding theyr owne Phantasies' see 'that which was not so in deede' (fol. 150r). Although some types of melancholy are said to encourage intellectual activity, by far the more frequent view is that of Nashe: 'And euen as slime and durt in a standing puddle, engender toads and frogs, and many other vnsightly creatures, so this slimie melancholy humor still still thickning as it stands still, engendreth many mishapen obiects in our imaginations' (*Terrors*, *Works*, III, 232–233).

With all commentators, the result is similarly the distortion of images in imagination. For DuLaurens, the cold and black of melancholy affect 'principally the imagination, presenting vnto it continually blacke formes and strange visions' (p. 91). For Bright, the result is 'monsters, which nature neuer bred' (p. 106); and Burton says, 'that melancholy men and sick men, conceive so many phantastical visions, apparitions to themselves, and have such absurd suppositions . . . can be imputed to naught else but to a corrupt, false, and violent imagination' (p. 222).

Specifically, it is the fumes from the melancholy humors which, rising into the brain, do the distorting (Bright, p. 102). Thus, not only the fumes of melancholy, but those of other humors affect and distort fantasy. Any 'ill humours' may send 'confused ymaginations and vayne foolish visions' into the brain (Lemnius, fol. 95[r]). For example, the fumes of choler, ascending to the brain, change 'stronglye the brayne and the vertue imaginatiue' (Batman, Bk. IV, chap. 10), resulting in 'phantasticall imaginations' (Lemnius, fol. 132[v]). And when we consider the conventional view expressed by DuLaurens' statement that 'there is not one bodie in the whole world to be found of so equall a mixture, as that there is not some excesse in one of the foure qualities ouer and aboue the rest' (p. 169), so that the perfectly balanced combination of humors is impossible, we can see how deplorably little accuracy and integrity the imagination could be conceded.

But we are not done, for the passions also distort imagination: 'you may well see how the imagination putteth greene spectacles before the eyes of our witte, to make it see nothing but greene, that is, serving for the consideration of the Passion'; and thus 'a false imagination corrupteth the vnderstanding, making it beleeve that thinges are better than they are in very deede' (Wright, pp. 51, 52). Again there is no correspondence to external reality. Affections 'In fancy make us heare, feele, see impressions, | Such as out of our sense they doe not borrow' (Greville, *Poems and Dramas*, I, 157). It was inevitable, then, that the lover's imagination should be conventionally described as corrupted.

Even the occupations of men distort their imaginations, again making imagination 'deliuer thinges vnto the minde after an impure sort' and 'otherwise then they are indeed' (Bright, pp. 78–79; see also DuLaurens, p. 98). The Elizabethan had even to reckon with susceptibility to the influence of the devil who might imprint upon his imagination 'such things as neither men nor deuilles themselues can possibly perfourme' (LaPrimaudaye, p. 156). In view of the possibilities described, the chances

for a healthy imagination, producing sound and accurate images, would seem, to an Elizabethan, rather remote.

Thus the 'sicknesse' of the imagination—tied to idiocy, old age, madness, and gluttony; susceptible to the vagaries of every constitution, the fumes of every humor, the influences of every occupation, producing visions impossible, 'monsters', images 'mishapen', 'fonde and absurde', 'confused'—in short, 'false'.

Hitherto we have considered imagination as acting rather passively so that its disrepute seems to stem chiefly from its very openness to influences which in turn make its testimony unreliable. In this role imagination seems perhaps abused as much as it abuses. But imagination is not merely passive. As Bacon puts it: 'Neither is the Imagination simply and only a messenger; but is invested with or at leastwise usurpeth no small authority in itself, besides the duty of the message' (*Works*, III, 382). Imagination receives and conveys images, but, as Huarte has it, it also devises 'some others of his own framing' (p. 79). The imagination 'taketh what pleaseth it, and addeth thereunto or diminisheth', says the translator of LaPrimaudaye (p. 155); and he speaks of the 'newe and monstrous things it forgeth and coyneth' (p. 156): the verbs as well as the adjectives are significant. So Bright finds that, under the influence of melancholy, the fantasy 'compoundeth, and forgeth disguised shapes', that it 'fayneth vnto the heart' terrible 'counterfet goblins' (pp. 103–104).[15] For Burton, fantasy not only receives objects and retains them for a while, but also has the power of 'making new of his own'; 'by comparison' to the objects provided by sense, he continues, fantasy 'feigns infinite others unto himself' (p. 139).

'Feign', 'forge', 'frame', 'coyn'—all are words for the active, in a sense creative, functioning of imagination. Although words like 'feigning' or 'forging', which are particularly popular, suggest the improbability of the products of imagination, they also convey the building power of the faculty. And in this active functioning, of course, the possibility of a lack of correspondence to life—with consequent disrepute—becomes as pronounced as it can be; for imagination, left to its own devices, may make what it will, creating in almost absolute disregard of

[15] In the examples of distortion of images by vapors of melancholy humor, the imagination, as we have seen, seems passive. However, the imagination of the melancholy man is also often regarded as abnormally active and creative in its own right. The disrepute of the disease of melancholy, and, for that matter, of the other agents of distortion, follows imagination, of course, into its active operation.

the images furnished by the senses and hence fashioning often the fondest impossibilities. A brief examination of this activity of the imagination—feigning—will make clearer the concept of the operation of imagination and explain why the active imagination might be accused of producing monsters and lies.

Although imagination feigns the unreal, for the Elizabethan psychologist pursuing his empirical approach, its unreal images are in a very tangible way still derived ultimately from impressions of real objects. Like all other images and almost everything in the mind, feigned images have their origin, through the senses, in the external world. Feigning, even at its wildest, is based ultimately on external reality, framing from it, and, sometimes, even according to it. Thus objects never seen are created upon the basis of 'perticulars receyued, though they bee absent: As when it seemeth that we see golden hils, either else when through the similitude of other hils we dreame of the hill Pernasus' (Batman, Bk. III, chap. 11); without matter from life the 'fantasie can doe nothing', but with it can forge all sorts of impossibilities (LaPrimaudaye, p. 156). Thus it is that out of the images with which it is supplied fantasy may, as we have seen, feign 'new of his own' 'by comparison' with the forms of things which it has received. Consequently even the wildest dreams, products of imagination, are conventionally described as having their source in images from real life. Without 'Patterns' imagination cannot feign its 'things vnlikely' (Davies of Hereford, *Works*, I, 8).

But it is when we see how fantasy handles its raw material in the creation of its original images that their unreality is fully explained. Perhaps as a result of the belief in the concreteness and tangibility of the empirically perceived images, Elizabethan doctrine pictured imagination as almost literally cutting up its images into parts and then rejoining them into forms that never exist in the external world of nature. A centaur as an imaginary creation could result from cutting away the head of a horse and substituting the torso of a man. Imagination, 'being not tied to the laws of matter, may at pleasure join that which nature hath severed, and sever that which nature hath joined, and so make unlawful matches and divorces of things' (Bacon, *Works*, III, 343). Instead of merely receiving the images of external objects passively and conveying them whole to higher powers, imagination not only 'taketh what pleaseth it' but 'addeth thereunto or diminisheth, changeth and rechangeth, mingleth and vnmingleth, so that it cutteth asunder and seweth vp againe, as it listeth' (LaPrimaudaye, p. 155). For Huarte, 'this imagina-

tion hath force not onely to compound a fygure possible with another, but doth ioyne also (after the order of nature) those which are vnpossible, and of them growes to shape mountains of gold, and calues that flie' (p. 132). 'The imagination', says DuLaurens, 'compoundeth and ioyneth together the formes of things, as of Golde and a mountaine, it maketh a golden mountaine' (p. 74). Thus it is that the imagination of man may 'faine . . . flying asses' (*ibid.*, p. 75).

When Bright, then, says 'compoundeth', he is using the word in an exact way. And so too when Davies of Hereford speaks of the faculty as crippling the whole and making whole the crippled, making and marring (*Works*, I, 8)—of '*Fantacie*, | Which doth so forme reforme, and it deformes, | As pleaseth hir fantasticke faculty' (*ibid.*, I, 7)—he has not only described the instability of imagination and the unreality of its products but given us an accurate account of the processes from which that unreality results.

In this way, then, the imagination 'forgeth disguised shapes'. As a result of such severing and compounding, the shapes of imagination must prove unreal, and it is the unreality of its products which is accented—as these very comments suggest. Not only does it 'reforme' but it also 'deformes' reality. Crippling or recreating life, it wrests from reality 'things vnlikely', joining, as Huarte put it, things 'which are vnpossible' to create its 'golden hils' or 'flying asses'. Almost invariably it is described as creating the disreputably incredible and false—'terrible' and 'monstrous fictions' that do not depend at all upon 'externall occasiō', building 'fansies' that are 'vayne, false, and voide of ground' (Bright, pp. 102–103). Monsters, wild dreams, and chimeras—'monstrous and prodigious things' (Burton, p. 140)—are traditionally its products. Speaking of the force of imagination 'in such as are awake', Burton exclaims: 'how many chimaeras, anticks, golden mountains, and castles in the air, do they build unto themselves!' (p. 220) and finds that, through the vagaries of imagination, not only the sick but even the well may 'conceive . . . phantastical visions, apparitions to themselves' (p. 222). LaPrimaudaye emphasizes both the monstrous and distorted quality of fantasy's images: 'it is a wonder to see the inuentions it [fantasy] hath after some occasion is giuen it, and what new and monstrous things it forgeth and coyneth, by sundry imaginations arising of those images and similitudes, from whence it hath the first paterne' (p. 156). Out of such a background come Spenser's 'Infernall Hags, *Centaurs*, feendes, *Hippodames*' (*F.Q.* II.ix.50.8), which abound in Phantastes' chamber. This 'fayned fantasie'

which misinforms reason is, for DuLaurens, 'vntrue', 'false' (p. 74), while for Scot the imaginations of some melancholy men conceive 'strange, incredible, and impossible things' (p. 30) making them 'beleeve they see, heare, and doo that, which never was nor shall be' (p. 38). As Spenser puts it, in a 'fayning fansie' occur 'Sights neuer seene' ('An Hymne in Honour of Love', lines 254–255) and 'such as in the world were neuer yit' (*F.Q.* II.ix.50.4). The giddy fantasy manufactures 'those things which neuer haue bin, shalbe, or can be', says LaPrimaudaye. 'For it staieth not in that which is shewed vnto it by the senses that serue it' (p. 155). Different as the connotations are, it is not very far from this and some of the preceding language to Sir Philip Sidney's description of poets who 'to imitate borrow nothing of what is, hath been, or shall be'.[16]

The power of fantasy actively to create monstrously distorted visions, lies about external reality, is, then, a cardinal tenet of Elizabethan psychology. These creations are called 'tales', 'fables', 'fictions', 'lyes', 'leasings'.[17] And although imagination feigns not only the grotesque or the monstrous but also the beautiful, not only 'flying asses' and chimeras but also 'golden hils' and 'castles in the air', all are incredible and therefore disreputable. The bias of the material in the psychological writings stands very heavily against this active function of the faculty.

And the lack of control over imagination is shown not only by the easy distortion of its images but by their unpredictable, accidental sequence. 'Now shee *Chimeraes*, then shee *Beauties* frame' (Davies of Hereford, *Works*, I, 8). Haphazardly imagination makes monsters one moment and castles in the air the next. In the Elizabethan psychology, the images of imagination are idly capricious, fleeting and inconstant, purposeless and insubstantial, succeeding each other, without control or order, in a restless procession. A faculty 'still in motion', creating 'toyes' (Davies of Hereford, *Works*, I, 8), its forming, reforming and deforming provide a quickly changing scenery for the mind. 'Pow'refull yet . . . most vnstaid', it 'resteth not' in its creation of 'visions vaine' (*ibid.*, I, 7), but remains forever busy; even in sleep 'A thousand dreams, phantastical and light, | With fluttering wings, do keep her still awake!' (Sir John

[16] *An Apologie for Poetrie*, in *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith (London, 1904), I, 159. (Subsequent references to Sir Philip Sidney will be to the *Apologie* in Vol. I of Smith's text.) From these quotations it is perhaps even not very far to William Wordsworth's 'The light that never was, on sea or land, | The consecration, and the Poet's dream' ('Elegiac Stanzas: Suggested by a Picture of Peele Castle in a Storm').

[17] Bright, pp. 102, 104; Nashe, *Terrors* (*Works*, III, 233); Spenser, *F.Q.* II.ix.51.9; Huarte, p. 118.

Davies, p. 176; cf. also Scot, pp. 101–102 and Bright, p. 118). It is 'another *Proteus, or a Chameleon*' (Burton, p. 223). Speaking appropriately of the 'giddinesse of Fantasie', LaPrimaudaye's translator finds the faculty 'sudden, & so farre from stayednes, that euen in the time of sleep it hardly taketh any rest', being occupied in dreams of impossibilities (p. 155). It is for him a 'light and dangerous' faculty (p. 153). This is the background of thought that Spenser turns into metaphor when he tells us that Phantastes' chamber is filled with buzzing flies which represent 'idle thoughts and fantasies' (*F.Q.* II.ix.51.1–6), and appropriately Spenser describes Phantastes' wit as forever restless (*ibid.* II.ix.49.9).

There are, in the psychological views of the active, feigning imagination, hints of control and even of value. Some value in feigning is suggested by its creation of ideal beauties, and some control of feigning by 'paterne' is suggested in the view that a 'Pernasus' of imagination is created by 'similitude of other hils' or that images are created 'by comparison' to those from life. And, although references to this function are comparatively infrequent, the imagination feigns healthily when it conjures up images of future possibilities. In the balanced soul, comes often 'a great imagination to see what is to come' (Huarte, p. 240). Indeed, at times in a good sort of melancholy, says DuLaurens, the melancholy man can 'by the forwardness of his imagination . . . see that which must come to passe, as though it were present before him' (p. 98).

But an especially legitimate manifestation of the feigning power of imagination occurs when, feigning images which act as counters of thought, it invents, and thus aids in the discovery or creation of new and valuable matter. From the 'Fancie', says Davies of Hereford, come 'all maruellous *Inuentions*' and thus 'all *Artes* and *Sciences*' (*Works*, I, 6). Huarte speaks similarly of the 'inuention of arts' which results from the conjunction of understanding 'with the memorie, or with the imaginatiue' (p. 67) and declares that 'From a good imagination, spring all the Arts and Sciences, which consist in figure, correspondence, harmonie, and proportion', listing poetry, music, eloquence, medicine, mathematics, astrology, government, art of warfare, painting, drawing, reading, '& the engins and deuises which artificers make' (p. 103). It is this power of fantasy of which Puttenham is thinking when he declares that fantasy presents 'visions, whereby the inuentiue parte of the mynde is so much holpen, as without it no man could deuise any new or rare thing'.[18]

[18] George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, ed. Gladys Doidge Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge, 1936), p. 19.

Thus, although rarely treated at much length, imagination as inventor has a sound reputation. It is worth noting that this reputable function of active imagination is presented at times, as in Huarte, as the result of coöperation with the higher understanding. Thus, given purpose and direction, feigning is good imagination. Here feigning, even though an active function of imagination, is that good imagination which results for the psychologists from the control of reason.

Nevertheless, as we have seen, the weight of the material is against the faculty. It remains essentially a faculty tied to sense and disease, uncontrolled, easily distorted and distorting and hence lying, idle and purposeless, flighty and inconsistent, and therefore irrational and immoral in the instrumental scheme. Yet to these sources of disrepute must be added one more—its dangerous alliance with the emotions, and hence with action.

Conventionally it is imagination, and specifically its images, which stimulate emotion; and the very nature of the emotion, in the theory, depends upon the nature of the images. Even in his definition of passions, Wright, principal writer on the emotions, reveals how inextricably emotion and imagination are related; for a passion is 'a sensual motion of our appetitive facultie, through imagination of some good or ill thing' (p. 8). Indeed we 'cannot love, hate, feare, hope, &c. but that by imagination' (*ibid.*, p. 31). As he tells us in his chapter 'The manner how Passions are mooved', the objects of imagination are communicated to the heart—generally accepted as seat of the emotions[19]—which is thus aroused to irascible (avoiding) or concupiscible (desiring) reactions with, of course, subsequent appropriate action (Wright, p. 45).[20]

In the natural course of events, the process of arousing emotion outlined by the psychologists may be not only acceptable but necessary; for the avoiding and approaching reactions are natural responses to life, necessary to survival. However, reactions are proportional to the stimulus, the image in imagination. If that image is a true and accurate picture of the object, reactions are also proportional and desirable. 'Perturbations naturall', says Bright, arise 'vpon an outward accasion, if the bodie be well tempered, and faultles in his instruments, and the obiect made no greater nor lesse then it is in deed, and the hart, aunswer proportion-

[19] See Ruth L. Anderson, *Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays* (Iowa City, 1927, University of Iowa Humanistic Studies, Vol. III, No. 4), p. 73.

[20] For parallel accounts, see also Sir John Davies, p. 177; Bright, p. 81; Burton, p. 224; and Huarte, p. 31.

ally thereunto', but the 'vnnaturall' arise when external life is 'otherwise taken then the obiect requireth' (p. 86).[21] When an object is 'deliuered otherwise then it standeth in nature', then is 'the hart moued to a disorderly passion' (Bright, p. 93).

The emotions are not in themselves, then, evil, but the distorted pictures of imagination which are presented to the heart make them so: the distorted images create distorted, excessive emotions. Discussing such perturbations, Burton declares 'that the first step and fountain of all our grievances in this kind is a distorted imagination, which, misinforming the heart, causeth all these distemperatures, alteration and confusion, of spirits and humours'. And the distortion of emotions, he declares, takes place when 'to our imagination cometh, by the outward sense or memory, some object to be known . . . which he, misconceiving or amplifying, presently communicates to the heart, the seat of all affections' (p. 219). The forged 'shapes' and 'counterfet goblins, which the brayne dispossessed of right discerning, fayneth vnto the heart' stimulate irrational terror (Bright, pp. 103–104); the feigned 'monstrous fictions' delivered to the heart cause it to break out 'into that inordinate passion, against reason' (*ibid.*, p. 102). And the process may develop into a pernicious cycle; for after the distorted images produce inordinate passion against reason, the passion may in turn further distort the images of imagination, which again return to create further excesses in feeling and further mislead reason (Wright, p. 52). Thus if the 'obiect' is accurately presented to the heart, reactions are proportional and adequate; but if it is distorted, so are the passions, becoming ungovernable and defying reason.[22]

Ultimately, then, the result of the relation between imagination and emotion is again that 'the vnderstanding looking into the imagination, findeth nothing almost but the mother and nurse of his passion for consideration'; thus it is that the conjunction of imagination and passion puts 'greene spectacles before the eyes of our witte' so that it cannot make proper decisions (Wright, p. 51). Passion and imagination are in league against reason. Although, when accurate, images may lead to natural emotion and sound action, the familiar failure in the veracity of images once more upsets the healthy operation of the instrumental

[21] Bright does not make here the usual Elizabethan distinction, according to which perturbations are distinguished from other emotions as unruly and excessive.

[22] On the distortion of the images of fantasy by emotion see also Greville, *Treatie* (*Poems and Dramas*, I, 157), and *Caelica* (*Poems and Dramas*, I, 145); Burton, p. 221; Shakespeare, *Dream* V.I.21–22.

scheme, leading to irrational and hence immoral behavior. The association between imagination and emotion reflects, once more, little credit upon the imagination, and the insistent demand is, again, for the veracity of images and the rule of reason.

III

Such disrepute, then, creates a formidable problem for the adherents of poetry to which in the Renaissance the faculty imagination is assigned; and, in his defense of poetry, it is clearly to the disrepute of imagination that Sidney responds when he declares that poetic imagination 'is not wholie imaginatiue, as we are wont to say by them that build Castles in the ayre' (p. 157), and it is surely the psychological descriptions of imagination which lead Puttenham similarly to distinguish between the good phantasy of the poet and the bad phantasy of others and to defend 'despised' poets and poetry on the grounds that 'the phantasticall part of man (if it be not disordered) [is] a representer of the best, most comely and bewtifull images or apparances of thinges to the soule and according to their very truth. If otherwise, then doth it breede *Chimeres* & monsters in mans imaginations, & not onely in his imaginations, but also in all his ordinarie actions and life which ensues' (pp. 18-19). We turn then to showing how adherents of poetry and of imaginative activity respond to the grounds of disrepute and how, drawing in defense upon familiar Renaissance materials, they evolve, as a result, significant views of imaginative activity.

In the face of the disrepute the adherents of poetry even depend upon the psychological view, seem even to glory in the power to distort. Where, according to the psychology, imagination, severing and joining, feigns 'things which neuer haue bin, shalbe, or can be', 'castles in the air', 'golden mountains', incredible beauties or monsters, and what 'never was nor shall be', the poet's imagination similarly creates imaginary composites, 'formes such as neuer were in Nature, as the *Heroes*, *Demigods*, *Cyclops*, *Chimeras*, *Furies*, and such like', a 'golden' world beyond the 'brasen' world of nature (Sidney, p. 156), beyond the 'bare *Was*' of history (*ibid.*, p. 168). The poet casts 'life in a more purer mold'.[23] Poetry makes 'thinges seeme better then they are by nature'.[24] The 'Bodie' of a poet's work is 'fictiue', and for his purposes the poet creates what

[23] Drayton, *The Tragicall Legend of Robert, Duke of Normandy* (*Works*, I, 285).

[24] Nicholas Ling, *Politeuphuia: Wits Common wealth* (London, 1598), fol. 52r. Cf. also Puttenham, p. 304.

seems even 'beyond Possibilitie to bring into Act'; scorning 'a Lord Maiors naked *Truth*', the poet's is a 'going beyond life'.[25] To mend men's minds, says Chapman, poets create 'shapes of Centaurs, Harpies, Lapithes' (*Poems*, pp. 22–23). Joining and severing, the poet creates 'things which in nature would never have come to pass'.[26]

Indeed the poetical view insists repeatedly that feigning is the very criterion of what is poetry. He who does not feign is a mere versifier or a historian and no poet; feigning is the poet's function and fiction his product:[27] 'hee is call'd a *Poet*, not hee which writeth in measure only; but that fayneth and formeth a fable'.[28] With Touchstone's punning verdict that 'the truest poetry is the most feigning' (*As You Like It* III.iii. 19–20), almost every poet and critic of the period would agree.

But, parallel though they may the psychological account, these very statements contain, of course, a distinction from the psychological view; for poet and critic, the poet's freedom to feign is a wonderful creative power which, unlike the psychologists, they exalt and in which they glory. In their very agreement with the psychologists lies a difference. The difference is emphasized, however, by their distinction between good use and abuse, between good and bad imagination. Poetic imagination is a good imagination. Poetic feigning is feigning with a difference. And the good imagination, which is the poetic, is good and reputable principally because it is controlled. Reacting against the current disrepute and drawing upon contemporary and classical thought, their poetic asserts the very controls demanded in the psychological view. The distortion of the poet's feigning is not haphazard, but deliberate and purposeful, moral and rational; his creations are, indeed, 'true' rather

[25] George Chapman, dedicatory epistle to *Odysseys* (*The Poems of George Chapman*, de. Phyllis Brooks Bartlett, New York, 1941, p. 407).

[26] Bacon, *Of the Dignity . . . of Learning* (*Works*, IV, 292); see also *Description of the Intellectual Globe* (*Works*, V, 504). Cf. Shakespeare, *Dream* V.i.14–15.

[27] See Sidney, p. 160; *Francis Meres's Treatise 'Poetrie': A Critical Edition*, ed. Don Cameron Allen (Urbana, Ill., 1933, Univ. of Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit. XVI), pp. 71, 73–74; Richard Mulcaster, *Positions*, ed. Robert H. Quick (London, 1888), p. 269; Sir John Harington, 'Preface to . . . *Orlando Furioso*' (*Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith, London, 1904, II, 203, 204); Samuel Daniel, dedicatory epistle to *The Civill Wars* (*The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel*, ed. Rev. A. B. Grosart, London, 1885–1896, II, 6); Drayton, 'To . . . Henery Reynolds, Esquire, of Poets and Poesie, (*Works*, III, 229); John Marston, *Satires* (*The Works of John Marston*, ed. A. H. Bullen, Boston, 1887, III, 283–284); Thomas Blundeville, *The True Order and Methode of Wryting and Reading Hystories* (London, 1574), sig. [E4]^{v}.

[28] Ben Jonson, *Discoveries 1641; Conversations . . . 1619*, ed. G. B. Harrison (London, [1923]), p. 89.

than false. His imaginative creation and its emotional effect are guided by the conscious purpose, ordering, reason, and morality of the writer to secure, in turn, directly or indirectly, rational and moral effects. It is, again, feigning with a difference. As we have seen Sidney put it, it is not the same imagination that builds 'Castles in the ayre': the 'figuring foorth good things', says Sidney, is to be distinguished from the infection of 'the fancie with vnworthy obiects' (p. 186).[29] It is necessary, as Puttenham indicates, to make 'difference betwixt termes'; it is the failure of the ignorant to make such a distinction that prompts them to term the poet's work '*phantasticall*, construing it to the worst side' (p. 18).[30] Poetic imagination is, by the addition of various controls, transformed—a far cry from the diseased imagination of the psychology. Poetic imagination is good imagination.

What then is the good imagination from which the bad is to be distinguished?

Basis for much of the disrepute of imagination in the psychological exposition is, we have seen, the lack of veracity in its content or product, its proneness to false and gross distortion of reality which misleads head and heart. But good imagination, insist the defenders of poetry, does not lie. Influenced by the complexly interacting emphases on plausibility and decorum found in contemporary and classical rhetoric and in classical literary criticism,[31] the defenders declare, almost unaminously although sometimes inconsistently, that the poet's, the good imagination does not lie, for it creates lifelike, verisimilar imitations of life which thus tell the truth about life. In this process the necessity for reasonable and plausible as well as vivid resemblance to real life requires the poet's control over feigning, yet leaves room for the poet's license to create

[29] See also *Sir Fulke Greville's Life of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford, 1907), p. 223.

[30] Murray W. Bundy has already pointed out that by distinguishing men of good fantasy 'from mere *phantastici*' the Renaissance attempted to avoid the disrepute of the coupling, through imagination, of lunatics and poets ('Fracastoro and the Imagination', *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Hardin Craig*, ed. Baldwin Maxwell et al., Stanford Univ., 1941, p. 47).

[31] The contemporary rhetorics, for example, often inherit doctrines from classical literary criticism and return them to criticism in Elizabethan times, while the very classical literary criticism which influences later rhetoric and poetic is itself often based on ancient rhetoric. See, for example, Donald L. Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance* (New York, 1922, Columbia Univ. Studies in Eng. and Comp. Lit.), pp. 80–81, and note also Clark, pp. 31–32, 42. The general influence of the contemporary rhetoric upon Elizabethans, their literature and criticism in particular, has been so frequently pointed out as to require no further examination in this study.

more than exact reproductions. Though it is an exact reproduction of no specific external reality, the verisimilar imitation *seems* true; though the poet's images do go beyond life, they are nevertheless true since, as verisimilar imitations, they resemble life; are, therefore, probable and lifelike. The poet creates 'things like truth' (Chapman, dedication to *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*), frames 'his example to that which is most reasonable' (Sidney, p. 168). Indeed, argues the defender, it is the exact copy of reality which, compared to the poet's, may be 'foolish' (*ibid.*, p. 170), whereas the poet's power to feign may create the greater 'likelihood' (*ibid.*, pp. 167, 168). His license to feign may, paradoxically, permit him to create a greater verisimilitude than is at times present in the odd reality of life itself. He is thus 'both a maker and a counterfaitor' (Puttenham, p. 3). By definition, the poet, for Ben Jonson, is a 'fainer' who 'writes things like the Truth' (*Discoveries*, p. 89). To a degree then, 'things like the Truth', the rhetorical and ancient critical principle of verisimilitude, reconciles the distortion of feigning with the demands of veracity. By adopting the bridle of verisimilitude, critic and poet at once preserve freedom for poetic imagination and avoid the disrepute of the traditionally false, ungoverned, distorting imagination. The poet's creations are still licensed and beyond life; yet, controlled by the doctrine of verisimilar imitation, they retain the veracity of being like life.

Not only does the emphasis on verisimilitude obviate the charges of falsehood, and thus, to a degree, of immorality, but, since the verisimilar is the plausible or 'reasonable', the doctrine also dissipates the aura of irrationality with which the psychological view surrounds imagination. Moreover, the control of feigning by the need to resemble life means that good imagination will not create in the volatile, haphazard fashion suggested by the psychology.

But it is even more in the familiar doctrine that the poet presents in his feigning a higher truth than the exact, arid literal truth of reality that the poetic defends the veracity of his imagination as well as its rationality and purposiveness. Of course merely by feigning ideal composites of a higher degree of good or beauty, of a world and being superior to this (even as the psychologist himself suggests that imagination may create beauties as well as monsters), the poet presents a higher truth. His golden world is a better world and hence a world of higher truth; his imagination creates 'the best, most comely and bewtifull images or apparances of thinges to the soule' (Puttenham, p. 19). But, fusing with Platonic

and Aristotelian influences and the influence of medieval allegory, the rhetorical doctrine of presenting higher concepts and truths through their embodiment in the concrete furnishes the foundation for the poetic doctrine of the higher universal truth presented through the feigned image of poetry. The value of the example—particularly of the historical example—to communicate precepts is a commonplace of rhetoric. The very presentation of philosophical, especially moral, truth through the concrete example is familiar rhetorical doctrine. Thus in his *Arte of Rhetorique* (1560), Thomas Wilson even recommends the fictitious example, the fable, to teach 'weightie and graue matters'[32] and finds that 'brute beastes' provide excellent 'paterns and Images of diuers vertues' (p. 191). Taken up by the defenders of imaginative activity, these rhetorical dicta furnish perhaps the most popular defense: by his feigning, the poet illustrates virtues and thus teaches higher abstract truth by rhetorical example; indeed, because he feigns the concrete, the poet is superior to the philosopher in teaching higher truths. Like the orator, the poet 'coupleth the generall notion with the particuler example' (Sidney, p. 164). By his power of feigning the poet thus becomes the 'right Popular Philosopher' (*ibid.*, p. 167), conveying higher truths which 'lye darke before the imaginatiue and iudging powre, if they bee not illuminated or figured foorth by the speaking picture of Poesie' (*ibid.*, p. 165). The literal truth is thus a 'barren truth' for Drayton (*Works*, II, 284), who regards his fictionalized historical lives, his *Legends*, as examples teaching higher truth (*Works*, II, 382). So completely does this become the accepted version of the higher truth of poetry that Spenser, closely following Sidney, explains the intention of his allegory, *The Faerie Queene*, in these same rhetorical terms: 'So much more profitable and gratious is doctrine by ensample, then by rule' (*F.Q.*, 'A Letter of the Authors'). Poetry, therefore, is not 'phantastique, or meere fictiue; but the most material, and doctrinall illations of *Truth*' (Chapman, dedicatory epistle to *Odysseys*, *Poems*, p. 407). To illustrate the abstract virtue, the poet creates his fictive 'Bodie' and that conveys 'a Soule' (*ibid.*).

And it is not merely that the poet can do the job of the orator. 'Truth builds in Poets faining' (Chapman, dedicatory epistle to *Iliads*, *Poems*, p. 386): it is precisely the power of the poet's fantasy to feign images, to distort, that permits him to create the most valid image or example and

[32] Ed. G. H. Mair (Oxford, 1909), p. 198. See also Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* I.Pr.10–13, and particularly Bacon, *Of the Dignity . . . of Learning* (*Works*, IV, 456). For an account of the absorption of this rhetorical material by poetic, see Clark, pp. 138–161.

to communicate his ideals most effectively. By his power to distort, the poet may present the most perfectly adapted image for the communication of truth because he can mold his images exactly to convey his concepts. Precisely because he is not captive to a literal truth, he may better convey a higher truth. Puttenham puts the position well when he tells us that 'a fained matter' is not only more pleasing but 'works no lesse good conclusions for example then the most true and veritable: but often times more, because the Poet hath the handling of them to fashion at his pleasure.' In one day the poet may feign not only more but 'more excellent examples' than 'ages' of history provide. And such feigning, he concludes, is 'for a maner of discipline and president of commendable life' (pp. 40–41). By his feigning, the poet can provide the 'perfect patterne' (Sidney, p. 168). In this power to distort lies the superiority of the poet to the historian who, because he cannot feign, is 'so tyed . . . to what is, to the particuler truth of things, and not to the general reason of things, that hys example draweth no necessary consequence, and therefore a lesse fruitfull doctrine' (*ibid.*, p. 164). The 'fained' Cyrus is 'more doctrinable' than the 'true' (*ibid.*, p. 168). Even Bacon, who does not always regard poetry very seriously, argues that the poet's power to feign beyond the limiting 'nature of things' permits him to present 'a more ample greatness, a more exact goodness' than can be found in 'true history' (*Works*, III, 343). Thus the very distortion, the charge of lies, is turned to an argument for the truth of poetic imagination, and for the superior truth of poetic imagination.

Clearly, this view of the power of the poet to control his image-examples, in molding them to fit his purpose of higher truth, emphasizes, again, disciplined feigning. It is because his feigning is controlled that the poet's creation of what 'neuer was' becomes the very agency of his higher truth. The poet must exercise conscious control to mold his image appropriately. Such control is rational and deliberate, not a matter of haphazard feigning. And it is not merely that the actual feigning is a disciplined activity, but that the ultimate guide and control even to that discipline is the wisely perceived rational and moral truth of the poet. For that matter, the very emphasis on use of the logical device of rhetorical example lends, further, an emphasis on the rational. Good feigning, a feigning which conveys higher truth and not 'lies', is controlled, rational.

But it is through the assimilated rhetorical doctrine of persuasion[33] by

[33] The rhetorical origins of the poetic doctrine of persuasion have been recognized for

moving emotion that the Elizabethan critic and poet justify, not only feigning, but the admitted emotional power of the feigned image. It is true, as this article has already suggested, that the feigned poetic image which presents higher truth acts as rhetorical example and, like the feigned or true images recommended by the rhetorics, may act as logical argument addressed to the understanding and thus persuade to higher truth. The view of the feigned image as example emphasizes, however, instruction or explanation as strongly as, or more strongly than, persuasion. But persuasion, according to the rhetoricians, was accomplished not only by appealing to intellect, but by moving emotion. And more, meeting the charges that the orator immorally makes the worse appear the better reason and that he stirs inordinate passion against reason and morality, charges leveled from classical times, the rhetoricians emphasize that the persuasion, even when emotional, is persuasion to good. Thus Cicero praises the influence of the orator in curbing and rousing passions in good causes and for good results (*De Oratore* II.ix.35), and Quintilian approves of the definition of rhetoric as the power to persuade men to do what they should (II.xv.35; see also II.xvi.10).[34] And this end is to be achieved not only by appealing to intellect but by moving emotion—and often specifically by arousing proper concupiscible and irascible emotions: thus, for example, the figure *Paradigma*, which, significantly, may be feigned or true, has, according to Peacham, the power 'to perswade[,] moue, and enflame men with loue of vertue, and also to deterre them from vyce',[35] and the writer of the persuasive epistle stimulates 'loue to well doing' and 'hate vnto badnes', according to Angel Day.[36]

It is not even half a step from these familiar rhetorical dicta to the adaptation that the feigned images of vice and virtue in poetry persuade to good by stirring appropriate, desirable emotions—love (of virtue) and hatred (of vice). Poetry, poet and critic declare, *is* persuasion. For Puttenham, 'the Poets were also from the beginning the besf perswaders and their eloquence the first Rethoricke of the world' (p. 8).

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some time. See, for example, Clark, pp. 136–137; Rosemond Tuve, 'Imagery and Logic: Ramus and Metaphysical Poetics', *JHI*, III (1942), 369; William Ringler, commentary on John Rainolds, *Oratio in Laudem Artis Poeticae*, tr. Walter Allen, Jr. (Princeton, 1940, Princeton Studies in Eng. No. 20), pp. 21–22, 61.

[34] On the superiority of emotional over merely intellectual appeal in persuasion, see Quintilian VI.ii.5.

[35] Henry Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence* (London, [1577]), fol. Uij^{v}.

[36] *The English Secretary* (London, 1599), [I], 47.

Further, the poet persuades to good, and is the best persuader to good.[37] Poetry 'doth intende the winning of the mind from wickednesse to vertue' (Sidney, p. 172); the poet's imitations 'moue men to take that goodnes in hande' (*ibid.*, p. 159). And it is precisely because his feigning stirs emotion most strongly—exactly because his feigned images of vice and virtue move more completely than exact copies of life, and can, under the wisdom of the poet, be molded to secure the proper moral emotional effect—that the poet is the best persuader to good.

That it is his feigning which is the source of the poet's power to persuade is clear. As we have just seen, it is the poet's 'imitations' that 'moue' men to goodness. It is 'fiction' which most persuades.[38] Persuasion is a matter not only of teaching but also of 'moouing to well doing', for 'moouing is of a higher degree then teaching' (Sidney, p. 171); and the 'moouing' is the effect of feigning. Whether 'a fayned example hath asmuch force to teach as a true example' Sidney regards as at least a question to be asked; but there is no possibility of dispute about which best moves men to good—'for as for to mooue, it is cleere, sith the fayned may bee tuned to the highest key of passion' (p. 169). The very power to distort, to feign, leads to a more intense moving to virtue. Thus the poet's feigning moves and persuades to good, stirring 'passion' to the very goal of virtue which it is the end, even according to the psychology, of true and exact images to attain.

But not only does the poet 'tune' his feigned images to secure emotional response, but, more specifically, he molds his images to secure the proper, moral response. In order to move to good, therefore, the poet presents feigned images of vice and virtue that secure appropriate concupiscible and irascible reactions: 'If the Poet doe his part a-right, he will shew you in *Tantalus*, *Atreus*, and such like, nothing that is not to be shunned; in *Cyrus*, *Aeneas*, *Vlisses*, each thing to be followed; where the Historian, bound to tell things as things were, cannot be liberall (without hee will be poeticall) of a perfect patterne, but, as in *Alexander* or *Scipio* himselfe, shew dooings, some to be liked, some to be misliked. And then how will you discerne what to followe but by your owne discretion, which you had without reading *Quintus Curtius*?' (Sidney, p. 168). Thus the feigned, and consequently 'perfect', images have the advantage of eliciting, under the poet's control, the proper psychological

[37] See Jonson, *Discoveries*, pp. 95–96; Puttenham, p. 196. For Jonson particularly, it is the poet's superiority in moving emotion which makes him preëminent.

[38] Puttenham, p. 196; Harington, in Smith (note 27 above), II, 204.

response. If he presents vices as well as virtues, he does so that men may learn 'by loathing such vile vices'.[39] His 'natural fictions' or 'things like truth' provide 'excitation to virtue, and deflection from her contrary' (Chapman, dedication to *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*).[40]

Thus the criticism of the excessive emotional power of the imaginative activity is defended by the doctrine of persuasion to good. The very distortion of feigning and its resultant emotional power become the very means of persuasion to good; feigning and emotional effect are not only permitted but demanded.

The defensive value of the doctrine derives in part, of course, from the very assimilation of a reputable activity, persuasion, from a reputable art; but this defense pictures the poet once more as in control of his materials and makes once more the distinction between good imagination and bad, between proper use and abuse. The poet 'tunes' his feigned image; he must 'doe his part a-right'. The emphasis is, as Harington puts it, on imaginative activity 'being rightly vsed' (in Smith, II, 209). The poet molds his products, disciplined by his understanding of morality and by his practical, moral end. Good imagination is, once more, controlled imagination as distinct from the uncontrolled described by the psychologists. Moreover, since the poet's feigning has ultimately the reputable, practical purpose of persuasion, the charges of lightness, insubstantiality, and idleness are weakened. Most importantly, of course, the doctrine combats the disrepute based on the charges of excessive emotion which frustrates reason and morality—and this it does on the very grounds of the psychologist. The poet moves emotion to good by arousing through his feigned images of vice and virtue proper concupiscible and irascible reactions. Thus the reader of poetry reacts even as psychologist or Puritan attacker would have him and 'willeth good thinges, and refuseth the contrarie' (Bright, p. 77), just as the exactly apprehended image of the 'offensiue or pleasaunt obiect' (*ibid.*, p. 93) should make the heart answer with proper responses, according to the psychologist. The feigned image is a calculated and selected agent for achieving the end of virtue.

[39] William Webbe, *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (*Elizabethan Critical Essays*, ed. G. Gregory Smith, London, 1904, I, 251). See also Harington, in Smith, II, 209.

[40] See also Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors* (*1612*) (New York, 1941), sig. C3, and Jonson, *Discoveries*, p. 42, for very parallel views on love-hate responses. How current this view was is suggested by Gower's listing of each of the principal characters at the end of *Pericles* (v.iii.85–98) as a 'figure' of vice or virtue. It is interesting to speculate on how much of this rhetorical purpose lay behind Shakespeare's histories and tragedies.

Utilizing the very apparatus of psychology, agreeing with the psychologist concerning the power of the 'distorted' image to achieve heightened emotion, and, indeed, emphasizing it, poetic, through the assimilation of the rhetorical doctrine of persuasion, thus meets many of the charges against feigning. A far cry from the uncontrolled feigning of lunatic and melancholic that leads to the stirring of evil perturbations, the feigned image of poetry is the precisely controlled means of effective persuasion to good: it is the best example; it is the most effective mover.

Thus laboring to free the poetic imagination from the current disrepute of the faculty, Elizabethan poetic responds to the very bases of the disrepute. Although instrumental to the healthy operation of the soul, imagination, according to the psychology, is a faculty for the most part uncontrolled and immoral—a faculty forever distorting and lying, irrational, unstable, flitting and insubstantial, haphazardly making and marring, dangerously tied to emotions, feigning idly and purposelessly. And from the attempt to combat these grounds of disrepute through the adoption and adaptation of materials which were an absorbed part of every educated Elizabethan's background—materials often from the very psychology itself—there evolves a concept of poetic feigning: that poetic feigning is a glorious compounding of images beyond life, of distortions which are yet verisimilar imitations, expressing a truth to reality and yet a higher truth also, controlled by the practical purpose, the molding power and, in almost every aspect, by the reason and morality of the poet. Poetic imagination is disciplined imagination. Arising out of the natural interaction of important areas of thought, it becomes feigning with a difference: controlled feigning.

Temple University WILLIAM ROSSKY

Il Capriccio: an Unpublished Italian Renaissance Comedy and its Analogues

THOSE peculiarly Italian institutions, the Renaissance academies, left behind them a most varied heritage of erudition and polite literature. From city to city they differed according to the differing tastes of their members, and just as the academies of Florence won renown for their research in philology, so those of Siena gained a reputation for fostering the art of play-writing. Isidoro Ugurgieri Azzolini says in his *Pompe sanesi*, 'De' Comici poi ci diffidiamo raccorre il numero preciso per la gran moltitudine che Siena n'ha havuti'.[1] He adds that the Accademia dei Rozzi alone had printed almost one hundred comedies, and in his catalogue of Sienese men of letters he mentions constantly that his subjects had left at their death unpublished comedies, often *boschereccie* or *rusticali*. It is not surprising, then, that many plays of this period survive only in manuscript form, and that a few have even found their way to the new world.

One such manuscript comedy is in the Library of the University of Toronto, which bought it through the agent Lange in Florence in May 1923, for 40 lire.[2] Its accession number is 178592. Although it is probably not possible to identify its author, the play itself, because of its relation to other Italian Renaissance comedies, seems of sufficient interest to merit notice.

It may be described as follows:

IL CAPRICCIO, 14.8 × 21.5 cm. 43 sheets (86 pages) not numbered. Two blank sheets of more modern paper added at the beginning; dark blue paper pasted to the recto of the first sheet to form a cover. Bound by the University Library in brown cloth.

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[1] Isidoro Ugurgieri Azzolini, *Le pompe sanesi overo Relazione delli huomini e donne illustri di Siena, e suo stato* (Pistoia, 1649), I, 619.

[2] Another MS. play by an anonymous Sienese author is in the Gray Collection of the South African Public Library in Cape Town. See Edoardo Bizzari, '*L'Aurelia*', *Riv. it. del dramma* II (1938), 335–352.

On the verso of the first added sheet, four notes, all in different hands:
[1.] Dialecte [*sic*]
[2.] MS 16-secolo
Il Capriccio per uno degli Intronati
[3.] By one of the 'Intronati di Siena'
[4.] Credo invece Capriccio Commedia in prosa di Fran. Ant. Rossi di Cosenza.

Because of rebinding, collation of the quires is impossible, though the first and the last seem to be groups of eight. The average number of lines to a page is 22. The speeches are run on in the lines, not separated with a fresh line to a fresh speaker, except in the prologue.

The contents of the pages of the manuscript are:
P. 1, list of the characters in a hand later than that of the rest of the manuscript; p. 2, the *Interlocutori del prologo*, and the *Interlocutori* of the comedy; pp. 3–8, the prologue; pp. 9–75, the comedy; p. 76, blank; pp. 77–78, the epilogue, in a different hand, and without a title or any identification of the speaker; pp. 79–83, blank; p. 84, title and *dramatis personae* of a play entitled *La Moglie*;[3] p. 85, blank; p. 86, draft of a poem in a hand which resembles that of p. 1.

As for the calligraphic and linguistic aspects of the manuscript, the principal portion is written in a very handsome variant of *tagliente* characters. Many of the word-forms are Sienese, which explains the note 'Dialecte'. Despite the beauty of the calligraphy, the writer seems to have set down the words phonetically, with little sense of syntax or punctuation. The following is a literal transcription of the first page of the prologue, in which the speakers are Capriccio and Commedia.

Ca. Fermate ola madoña dove sete in viata
Co. chi sei tu che vuoi saper dove io vada
ca. il saper chi io sia avoi non importa ma importa bene ame ilsaper dove andate voi
co. debbo essare io forse sotto latua costodia che io tabbia arendar conto demie passi
ca. io nondico cotesto che non migiudico dengno di tener sotto donna sibella come sete voi
co. che causa timuove donque afarmi questo
ca. ildesiderio ch'io ó che nissuno singanni a partito parvi forse questa picola cagione
co. tipaio donque persona dalassarmi ingannare
ca. ingannar no errai masibene trasportar dall'afetione
co. chi pensi che sia quello che per picolo interesse daltri voglia progiudicare ingrosso asemedesimo
ca. nissuno o pochi che mi parebbe sengnio dipoco giuditio
co. come penzi dunque che lafetione minganni
ca. penso che vinganni vedendovi venir qua dove non e luogo per voi

The authorship of this play must remain in doubt. The identification suggested in the fourth note with Rossi's *Il Capriccio* is incorrect, and the

[3] The only published play with this title is by Giovanni Maria Cecchi, but the names of its characters do not correspond with those in our MS.

two comedies have nothing in common.[4] The only other published play with this name is by Giacomo Guidozzi (1608). It is, however, not a comedy but a *favola boscareccia* in verse, and Salvioli's description of its characters makes it plain that it is not our play.[5] I have examined every printed list of plays available at the Biblioteca Comunale of Siena without success. If, as the librarian there informed me, every member of the Accademia degli Intronati was required to compose a comedy as a condition of his admission, it is not surprising that many were written of which there is no record. That the Toronto *Capriccio* may be attributed to one of the academicians seems reasonably sure. The play contains many references to Siena, and the prologue is specifically addressed to the ladies in the audience, a practice common to all the Intronati comedies which we can identify except two, Piccolomini's *Alessandro*, which has no prologue, and Girolamo Bargagli's *La Pellegrina*. This latter play was performed at the wedding of Ferdinando de' Medici to Christina of Lorraine, and its prologue is addressed to the bridegroom.

All the others, however, are uniform in this detail. In *Gl'ingannati* the *prologo* begins, 'Io vi veggio fin di qua, nobilissime donne, meravigliose di vedermivi così dinanzi in questo abito', and the half-jesting tone is very like that of the *Capriccio*. In Piccolomini's *Amor costante* the prologue is in the form of a dialogue between Il Prologo and a Spaniard, and the former asks pardon of the ladies for talking in a dialect which they may find it hard to understand. The whole of his final speech is addressed to them. The prologue of *Gli scambi*, by the Aperto Accademico Intronato, is addressed entirely to the ladies, and, like that of *Il Capriccio*, contains a number of indecent innuendoes at their expense.

An even closer parallel is to be found in the prologue of *Ortensio*,[6] which is a dialogue between Comedy and Tragedy. Tragedy asks, 'Le donne dunque furono cagione, che si ponessero gli Accademici a così

[4] Rossi's play seems to be unavailable in North America, but Signora Valerio Marini of Rome has kindly examined for me the first edition (Naples, 1598) which is part of the Allacci Collection in the Vatican Library, and has sent me a detailed description of it. It has no similarity to our *Capriccio* except in its title, which, by the way, it borrows from one of its characters, Capitan Capriccio.

[5] Giovanni and Carlo Salvioli, *Bibliografia universale del teatro drammatico italiano* (Venice, 1903), I, 644. 'Questa composizione', says Carlo Salvioli, 'ha tra gli Interlocutori un Burattino che parla bergamasco, il Graziano che parla bolognese, il Magnifico che parla veneziano, il Tedesco che parla mezzo italiano, ecc.'

[6] The authorship of this play, which has been erroneously ascribed to Piccolomini, is discussed by Florindo V. Cerreta, 'Clarifications concerning the Real Authorship of the Renaissance Comedy *Ortensio*', *Renaissance News* X (1957), 63–68.

honorate fatighe?' And Comedy answers, 'Le donne furono, perche sì bene essi disegnavano di salire per questa essercitatione Accademica a maggior grado di fama, & d'honore, tutto era per poter più degnamente amare, lodare, & celebrare le donne, procurando di continuo con diverse sorti di giuochi, . . . & d'altre simili inventioni di porgere qualche honesto solazzo agli animi loro. Et per la medesima cagione si arano fatti loro debitori d'una Comedia l'anno, quasi per tributo ordinario, il quale per la malignità de tempi hanno già molti anni intermesso di sodisfare. Ma hoggi che i passati travagli sono rivolti in quiete, & in tranquillità, & che è stata presa la protettione loro dal GENEROSO perpetua lor Principe, hanno ripreso animo, & sono ritornati alle loro solite essercitationi.'

Here Comedy is one of the speakers in the dialogue which forms the prologue, just as in *Il Capriccio*, and we are plainly told that the plays were written by the academicians as a tribute to the ladies, which explains the practice of addressing part or all of the prologue to them.

The reference in the final lines is to the closing of the academy between 1552 and 1560 because of the suspicious fears of Cosimo I, and suggests another problem concerning the Toronto manuscript, that of date. The only topical reference in the play is Fabbiano's statement in act III that Giglietta, the heroine, was adopted by him when she was 'per l'assalto [of Siena] cacciata per bocca disutile, e mi capitò alle mani, ch'io ero a Montalcino'. This undoubtedly refers to the siege of Siena by the forces of Cosimo I in 1555, when the inhabitants of the beleaguered city, desperate at the lack of provisions, drove from the city all the 'useless mouths', the women, the children, the aged, in the forlorn hope that the besiegers would have pity on them. Montalcino was the headquarters of Piero Strozzi's anti-Medici republican party. As Giglietta was five years old when Fabbiano adopted her, and is probably sixteen or seventeen (the usual age of a Renaissance comedy heroine) when the play opens, this would give an approximate date of 1566–1568.[7]

The subject of *Il Capriccio* is not original. It is a *rifacimento* of Plautus' *Casina*, and so adds a seventh to the known Italian versions of that comedy.[8] The six already identified are Gerolamo Berardo's *La Cassina* (1530), Machiavelli's *La Clizia* (1517), Lodovico Dolce's *Il ragazzo*

[7] This is a generally accepted method of dating a Renaissance comedy, and seems reasonably reliable. See Giuseppe Cavazzuti, 'Lodovico Castelvetro e la commedia *Gli Ingannati*', *GSLI* XL (1902), 346–347.

[8] Other plots which have borrowed details from the *Casina* are Dovizi's *La Calandria*, Gelli's *L'errore*, Strozzi's *Commedia in versi*, and Giannotti's *Il vecchio amoroso*. I am considering here only direct imitations of the Latin plot.

(1541), Giovan Battista Della Porta's *La fantesca*,[9] Cornelio Lanci's *La Ruchetta* (1584),[10] and (though only in one of its parallel plots) Giovan Maria Cecchi's *I rivali*.[11]

A comparison of these plays is ample proof that those critics who have taxed Italian Renaissance playwrights with lack of invention have erred. Any period in the theater has indisputably certain characteristics which will be common to a large group of plays written during the same twenty or thirty years. Certain themes are the favorites; there is a certain fashion, more or less rigid, in dramatic construction, in style, and in characters: this is as true of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as of the sixteenth. But within their own range the comedies modelled on the *Casina* show a surprising variety of treatment, and to examine and compare them is to learn a good deal about methods of adaptation and currents in dramatic taste during the seventy-five years after 1517.

The plot of the *Casina* is as follows. Lysidamus, an elderly Athenian, is in love with his slave girl Casina. So is his son, Euthynicus. The father plans to marry Casina to his bailiff, Olympio, so that he may get her out of his house and enjoy her favors unknown to his domineering wife, Cleostrata. The son plans to marry the girl to his attendant slave, Chalinus, and so have her at his own disposal. Cleostrata favors her son's candidate and opposes her husband's. The choice is left to chance: Chalinus and Olympio draw lots, and Olympio wins. He is to take Casina for the first night to the house of Lysidamus's friend and neighbor, Alcesimus, whose wife, Myrrhina, will be away from home, helping Cleostrata with the wedding preparations. But Chalinus overhears the plot and betrays it to Cleostrata. The wedding is celebrated, and the bride is led away, but Chalinus has been substituted for Casina, and Lysidamus is covered with shame and forced to humble himself before his wife. The epilogue informs the spectators that Casina is now discovered to be the daughter of Alcesimus, and so will be married to Euthynicus.

There are no sub-plots. Casina and Euthynicus do not appear on the stage. The play focuses its interest on scenes of mutual vituperation between the two slaves and on the ecstatic follies of the old man in love.

[9] Review of Karl von Reinhardstoettner, *Plautus: Spätere Bearbeitungen plautinischer Lustspiele* (Leipzig, 1886), in *GSLI* VII (1886), 454–456.

[10] Review of the same book by A. L. Stiefel in *Litteraturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie* XI (1890), 191–199.

[11] Alberto Gregorini, 'Di una rassomiglianza fra i *Rivali* di Cecchi e la *Casina* di Plauto', *GSLI* XXII (1893), 417–420. No exact date can be ascribed either to this play or to *La fantesca*.

This is the material which is used so variously by the Italian playwrights. Berardo's *La Cassina* needs no discussion, as it is simply a translation of the original. Machiavelli gives realism to his *Clizia*, and at the same time implicitly acknowledges his debt to Plautus, by asserting in the prologue that though a similar event had happened long ago in Greece the incidents of his play had taken place in Florence 'pochi anni sono'. Clizia herself, like Casina, never appears on the stage, but she is given a rather elaborate romantic past, having been adopted by the old Nicomaco in 1494 as a sequel to Charles VIII's passage through Florence on his way to Naples. The young lover Cleandro, however, plays an important role, and his love for Clizia is romantic and reciprocated. Sofronia, Nicomaco's wife, is shrewd enough to scent her husband's plot without any help, and it is she who decides to arrange a different match for her ward. Clizia is impersonated not by the rejected suitor but by another servant of Nicomaco's household, whose role is not a speaking one. Plautus's awkward revelation in the epilogue of Casina's identity is managed a little less abruptly by Machiavelli, for he has prepared the audience for it in act I: even so, the announcement at the end of act V by Damone, Nicomaco's neighbor, that Clizia's wealthy and noble father has just arrived from Naples is too sudden an ending to seem anything but contrived and unconvincing. Practically no change has been made in the plot development, but by skilful light use of local color, and a summary of recent history rather in the style of *Il principe*, Machiavelli has given a genuine Florentine flavor to a Graeco-Roman comedy.

The prologue to Dolce's very free version, *Il ragazzo*, declares boldly that the comedy is original and based on fact. The setting is Rome, and the chief characters are of higher social rank than in the earlier plays. Messer Cesare, the old man, is very wealthy. Livia, loved both by himself and by his son Flaminio, is no waif or servant, but a 'gentildonna fanciulla'. Flaminio wishes to marry her, and the rival servants used as screens by father and son in the original version are discarded. For them Dolce substitutes an intriguing parasite, Ciacco, who promises to arrange assignations for both Cesare and Flaminio. Another addition is a parallel plot, which concerns the Spanish nephew of a cardinal, who is in love with Cesare's daughter, Camilla, and whose servant is the eponymous boy, Giacchetto. The latter lends his clothes to Camilla, and takes Livia's place with Cesare. In the dénouement he turns out to be Livia's twin-brother, and so another popular comedy motif is added to the play. All the minor characters (and Dolce introduces several) are

drawn with lively realism. They include a pedant, a gruff faithful servant of Cesare's, and a maid who assists Camilla to elope with her Spanish admirer, then rifles Cesare's house, and finally repents and restores her loot before the theft is discovered.

The boy himself, impudent and loose-tongued, is an excellent original creation, and Dolce deepens his character with a note of pathos at the end of the fifth act, when he tells Ciacco that he is going to a church to fulfill his vow to St. Petronio, to whom he had prayed for deliverance from servitude. Not until then will he change his servant's clothes for those of a gentleman. Though Livia does not appear on the stage, Camilla does, in her boy's disguise. Cesare's wife does not appear, and plays no part in the plot.

Dolce's version, then, is strong in comic characters and in complication of plot. There is much action and well-sustained suspense, particularly in the scenes of Camilla's midnight elopement and its consequences. There is a double love-interest, in both cases virtuous and romantic, directed towards marriage, not to temporary enjoyment alone.

Della Porta's version is even farther from the original than Dolce's, so far, in fact, that the relations between the *Casina* and *La fantesca* are very slight indeed. For in the latter play the 'maid' is really a young man, Essandro, who has taken service in disguise with Guasto because he has fallen in love with the old man's daughter, Cleria. The consequent situation is that father and daughter (who has seen Essandro, the 'maid', in male attire), instead of father and son, love the same individual, and Guasto's attempt to force his attentions on the reluctant 'maid' are ludicrously foiled, while with a final fantastic twist Essandro's faithful servant, Patrizio, turns out to be the young man's long-lost father.

In Cecchi's *I rivali*[12] the most important of the three love intrigues which compose the complicated plot is the Casina theme. It is fused, however, with a motif from another play by Plautus, the *Curculio*, for this time Casina-Persilia is in the power of a sordid innkeeper, Museruola, who must be compensated for the cost of her upbringing before he will give her in marriage. The setting is Pisa, and Persilia's young

[12] Cecchi was born in 1518, died in 1587, but the date of composition of this play is unknown. It was first printed from a MS. in the Biblioteca Communale of Siena by Gaetano Milanesi in 1856. The play contains no mention of historical events or personages and so cannot be dated from internal evidence. Like Dolce's *Il ragazzo*, it presents a Spaniard and his impudent boy, but Cecchi's Spaniard is the conventional cowardly blusterer, whereas Dolce's is noble and chivalrous.

lover and secret husband (for she is married before the play opens) is a student, Flavio. His rival is not his father, Anselmo (whose avarice, however, has prevented an open marriage to the dowerless girl), but another old man, Basilio, father of Flavio's fellow-student, confidant, and ally, Valerio. As Museruola has gone bankrupt, he intends to move to Lucca, and both Flavio and Basilio are anxious to arrange a marriage to a servant (fictitious, of course, in Flavio's case) which will keep Persilia in Pisa. As Museruola will only part with her for a certain sum, Flavio's efforts to obtain the money form much of the play's intrigue. Eventually it is Persilia herself who assumes the disguise of a boy, not in order to keep a rendezvous but to escape from Museruola's house. And in the final disentanglement it is her ancient suitor who turns out to be her father, the first time that this particular twist has appeared in any version of the play.

Actually Cecchi has borrowed from the *Casina* only the rivalry between the young man and the old and the plot for the two proxy marriages. The unfilial sentiments of the original version have disappeared, and Valerio is represented as saddened and embarrassed by his father's folly. It might be added that by omitting the scene between the amorous old man and the masquerading boy Cecchi's play alone in the series achieves complete decency of situation and language.[13]

Lanci's *La Ruchetta* follows Plautus's comedy more closely than any of the other versions we have considered except Machiavelli's. As in *La Clizia*, the scene is Florence, and although the local color is unmistakably Florentine, Lanci departs from his model only in allowing Ruchetta to appear on the stage in the last scene, so that the revelation of her identity may be dramatized rather than related. Her young lover also appears, but plays a comparatively small role.

A comparison of these several versions may possibly show some reflection of Renaissance taste and of methods of adaptation. In every play of the series there is a successful transplanting to a new local setting. Particularly fresh and lively are the backdrops of papal Rome in *Il ragazzo* and of the University of Pisa in *I rivali*.

Only two of the plays, *La Clizia* and *La Ruchetta*, follow Plautus closely, even to the extent of using as he does the heroine's name as the title of the play. In all the other comedies there are sub-plots or parallel

[13] Fortunato Rizzi, *Le commedie osservate di G. M. Cecchi* (Rocca S. Casciano, 1904), pp. 124–125.

plots of equal importance. Sometimes, as in *La fantesca* or *I rivali*, only one or two situations are borrowed from the *Casina*. Even to these, unexpected twists are given so that their development may be fresh and unexpected to an audience well-seasoned in theatrical devices. Extremely ingenious variations are found for the indispensable final *agnizione*. The heroine may turn out to be the daughter of her old suitor's neighbor and abettor, as in the original and in *La Ruchetta*; of a foreign gentleman, as in *La Clizia*; or, most daring of all, of her suitor himself, as in *I rivali*. Or her birth may be in no doubt, but her lost brother may be found, as in *Il ragazzo*. Or, at the farthest remove from the original, she may prove to be no girl at all, but a boy (*La fantesca*), and the person who is finally 'recognized' may be the hero's father. Again, if the heroine has been lost her disappearance may be accounted for in several ways, all more or less sensational. Clizia was rescued by a French soldier in the sack of Naples; Ruchetta was captured by Turks while a dishonest nurse was taking her from Livorno to Genoa; Persilia was saved from a fire that burned down her father's house during his absence.

There is also an increase in the number of characters, particularly, of course, in the plays which add further plots. In 1868 Professor Giuseppe Sferzi published Castelvetro's manuscript *Parere sopra ciascuna commedia di Plauto*.[14] Commenting on the *Casina*, Castelvetro criticizes the awkward end, with its tacked-on disclosure that Casina is a free citizen, and so a suitable wife for Euthynicus. In fact, he says, the love story between them is unnecessary, for all that is needed for the plot is the wife's jealousy. It is evident that this opinion was shared by few of the adapters. On the contrary, the role of the wife often disappears entirely: the termagant has never been a popular figure in the Italian theater. And the characters who assume paramount importance in the Renaissance versions are precisely those of the young lovers, particularly of the men, because a modest unmarried girl generally appeared only briefly on the stage in comedies of the period. Though the heroine cannot actually appear in many scenes, however, the playwrights take pains to describe her as a creature very far removed from Plautus's uncharacterized slave girl. Casina is not aware that Euthynicus loves her: she is merely a pawn to be possessed by the most skilful player. But even Ruchetta, slight though she is and equally unaware that she is loved by the hero, has a

[14] Giuseppe Sferzi, 'Parere di Ludovico Castelvetro sopra ciascuna commedia di Plauto, tratto di un codice Vaticano', *Il Propugnatore* 1 (1868), 61–74.

pathetic conviction that her birth is above her fortunes, and enough independence to make an appeal to her mistress to be allowed to seek for her parents before she is forced into a distasteful match.

Clizia, the closest to Casina of all these heroines, for she is ignorant of Cleandro's love and of his plot, and does not appear on the stage or take any part in the action, is nevertheless described, as Casina never is, as 'una fanciulla buona d'assai e bella', and Machiavelli warns his audience not to expect to see her in person, 'perchè Sofronia, che l'ha allevata, non vuole, per onestà, che la venga fuori'. Only she and Livia (*Il ragazzo*), also described as a 'gentildonna fanciulla e sottoposta a madre', do not figure in their respective plays, but Livia not only knows of Flaminio's love but reciprocates it. She is the only heroine in the series who is not living in some kind of bondage.

All these maidens are described as good and modest as well as beautiful, and though Cecchi's Persilia appears only for a moment on the stage he describes her as 'onesta e buona, nobile, bellissima, e bene allevata', and applies to her such delightful terms as 'una santuccia', and 'una coppa d'oro'.

Il Capriccio, the Toronto manuscript comedy, is curiously removed from the tendency towards a more elevated treatment shown in the versions described above. By a change which is typically Sienese, it transforms the *Casino* into a *commedia rusticale*, without, however, any departure from Plautus's plot and characters. The *commedia rusticale*, or *boschereccia*, has generally been considered the monopoly in Siena of the Accademia dei Rozzi, and it is most unexpected to find that this type of play was also written by the more aristocratic Intronati. Yet it cannot reasonably be supposed to be composed by one of the Rozzi. In the first place, the address to the ladies of the audience is, as we have seen, typical of the Intronati, but was never, to my knowledge, used by the Rozzi. In the second place, the latter academy never use classical themes, and the prologue of the *Capriccio* acknowledges covertly the debt to Plautus, adding that the charming ladies of the audience will not observe the theft as they know no Latin. In the third place, the Rozzi comedies were always in verse, and the *Capriccio* is in prose. The ascription to the Intronati written inside the cover of the manuscript must consequently be accepted as correct.

In this Sienese version the action takes place not in the city but in the *contrada*, where Messer Fabbiano, 'un gentil huomo assai vecchio e da bene', is living with his wife and the foundling Giglietta. Fabbiano is by

origin from Siena, and if he was living in Montalcino at the time of the siege must have belonged to the anti-Medici party. As Cosimo I was in firm control of Siena when the play was written this bad choice in politics would give an added edge to Fabbiano's bad choice in love.

There are only a few touches of local color in the play besides the references to this siege. There is one passage of satire on the proverbial Tuscan thriftiness. Drea tries to persuade Penta to renounce Giglietta by telling him that as she has been brought up in the house of *cittadini* she will not be able to endure fatigue or perform 'le faccende che fanno li nostri pari, come mungere, far cacio, ir per le legnia, andar drieto alle bestie, andare a Siena a vender le bagaglie, e simil cose'. Penta replies: 'Del non saper vendere, non ho paura, perchè mi pare ch'oggi tutte le specie de cittadini si sieno adattate a stare in piazza il dì doppo disinare e vender tutto quel che avanza in casa, fino una lentichia, un quartuccio di fave, una mezzeta di fagiuoli, un boccal di ci cerche [*sic*], e una libra di susine secche, due coppie di uova, un pignattel d'ulive, due massi di finocchio, e le frittelle la quaresima.'

There is also a reference, completely irrelevant in such a play as this, to what must have been a recent local scandal. Fabbiano mentions a party of foreigners (possibly Spanish, for there is a reference to Re Carlo, who may be Charles V) who had visited Siena and after their departure had boasted that they had enjoyed the favors of the Sienese ladies. This, Fabbiano says, is because 'la nostra gentilezza e la nostra cortesia ci è imputata a debito e viltà'.

The whole tone of the play is very rustic, and, as in Plautus, much of the humor depends on the duels of insults in which Penta and Talurchia, the servant suitors, engage. The comedy is anti-romantic in the extreme, in marked contrast to such versions as Dolce's and Cecchi's. The other writers, as we have seen, all built up and refined the roles of the young lovers. Our author, the only one to share Castelvetro's opinions, eliminates the old man's son and makes the jealousy of Fabbiano's wife, Anselma, the motive agent of the plot. She supports the quite genuine suit of Penta, a glib shiftless tenant of Fabbiano's, and when her husband opposes the match in favor of his own knavish dairy-farmer, Talurchia, she is puzzled. It is Penta who suggests to her that Fabbiano's interest in Giglietta is too warm, and it is he who overhears the arrangements between Fabbiano and Talurchia and, by revealing them to Anselma, sets in motion the mock marriage at which an ugly boy plays the bride's part.

Nowhere is the author's vulgarizing process more evident than in the

character of the heroine. Giglietta appears freely on the stage, alone now with one, now with the other, of her suitors. She is eager to be married, she cares not to whom, and talks complacently of all her *guasti*. She is apparently something of a simpleton, and in a conversation with Fabbiano and Anselma agrees with each alternately, to their consequent amazement. She is disappointed when on the very point of marrying Talurchia she sees a substitute take her place. And when the wedding party has departed she willingly accompanies Penta into the stable, where they are soon after discovered in a most compromising situation by a disillusioned Fabbiano. In fact, she is a well-sketched picture of a rural adolescent, demure in the presence of her elders, bold in that of her contemporaries, covertly defying Anselma's efforts to keep her indoors; a rustic hoyden whose virtue is so easy that its very existence is questionable, anticipating most curiously Wycherley's Miss Prue. And the author does not shrink from describing her as employed by her master in the basest of services, so that it is quite fitting that she should turn out to be, not of noble birth, but sister to the boorish Talurchia, who is heartily relieved that he now does not have to marry her.

This coarsening of characters is consistent throughout the play, as is gross indecency of language. Even the prologue is full of licentious equivokes. Talurchia and Penta in their verbal battles resort to every vulgarity of epithet and image, as does Anselma in her vituperations against her husband. Drea Fracassa, Fabbiano's confederate, is not only brutal in his speech, but actually strikes his wife so violently that she hobbles half-crippled from the stage. If the play is to be taken as a semi-realistic picture of Tuscan country life, at the farthest possible remove from the pastoral convention, it is by no means a flattering one.

Yet just for this reason *Il Capriccio* is interesting, for it represents a development in the Renaissance theater which found its most famous exponents in Michelangelo Buonarroti the Younger and in Angelo Beolco, and which was particularly popular at Siena. The more pronounced trend in Italian plays of the period is towards greater borrowing from the serious *novella*, a certain Petrarchism of sentiment, a taste for the artificialities of pastorals and eclogues, an elevation of plot and characters which eventually reaches its culmination in opera. Yet at the same time there is also a lively school of popular comedy, an attempt to reproduce the manners and speech of the lower classes. Of the seven plays imitated from the *Casina* (not counting Berardo's translation) four are Tuscan, and of these Cecchi's represents the highest, gayest, most refined

treatment which can be given to the subject, our Intronato's the lowest and most vulgar, a treatment, however, which is well within the Sienese tradition. Without *Il Capriccio* the gamut would be incomplete. With it we can, in the imitations of one Latin comedy alone, study the whole range of Renaissance comedy from its most romantic to its most anti-romantic aspect.

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Topographical-Historical Method in Sixteenth-century German Scholarship

NE of the most pressing tasks facing German humanist scholars at the beginning of the sixteenth century was the exploration and description of their country. The national awakening of which they liked to speak and write, the quickening of energies under Maximilian and Charles which they thought they perceived, could have little political meaning until the German territories became known to the Germans themselves. The courses of rivers, the dimensions of forests, roads and passes and waterways, the size and location of towns and villages were familiar to local residents, but virtually unknown to Germans at large. The mental image which the German humanist had before his mind's eye, a vision of a spacious and flourishing country, well endowed with resources and populous enough to exploit them, no longer the land of vast swamps and impenetrable forests of which the ancients had written—this vision needed to be fixed. Rivers had to be traced, mountain ranges defined, valleys and plains and mines examined and an inventory of their riches made. Local chronicles must be rescued from the archives, dialects and folkways studied and set down. Only when this great task of stocktaking had been consummated could it be decided whether Germany was, in fact, a nation.

This was a vast endeavor, but the resources of the humanist movement were equal to it. The great historical project which Konrad Celtis and his circle undertook in the 1490s, to be called *Germania illustrata* after the model of Flavio Biondo's *Italia illustrata*, was abortive, but it was a start in the right direction.[1] Celtis realized that only a collaborative enterprise could hope to succeed, and to this end he used the unparalleled influence he enjoyed over his colleagues in all parts of Ger-

[1] On the *Germania illustrata* see Paul Joachimsen, *Geschichtsauffassung und Geschichtsschreibung in Deutschland unter dem Einfluss des Humanismus* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1910), pp. 155–167.

many. His effort remained fragmentary not for lack of zeal or mediocrity of achievement, but because its scholarship ran dry in the pursuit of aims which, so far as the mercurial Celtis defined them with any clarity, were largely antiquarian.[2] The description of Germany needed a fresh approach, and a younger group of men was already at work on it.[3] Soon the creative spirit of Celtis' undertaking had merged with the forces which were developing a more universal type than that of the *patria illustrata*, and those works which were produced under Celtis' inspiration found their logical place in the larger venture of the topographical-historical literature.

The form adopted by the topographical-historical writers for their descriptions was one which they themselves created for their purpose. It was a practical formulation; no attempt at theoretical definition preceded it. It was compounded of many sciences, each of them selected for its ability to illuminate an aspect of the German scene, all of them uniting into a universal descriptive genre. The catalyst of that genre was geography.

This was natural in a country whose geographers had won more unstinted acclaim than any of its other scholars. And it is, no doubt, due to this 'geographical renaissance' in Germany, and to the presence of so many distinguished professional geographers, that the topographical-historical works are built on a sound basis of academic geography. This was hardly a requirement for the fulfillment of their real purpose, which

[2] Celtis' intended scheme for the *Germania illustrata* may be learned or inferred from the following: His *Oratio in Gymnasio in Ingolstadio publice recitata* of 1492, text in Hans Rupprich, ed., *Humanismus und Renaissance in den deutschen Städten und an den Universitäten* (Leipzig, 1935), pp. 226–238; his *Germania generalis*, published in 1502 as a foretaste of the *Germania illustrata*, critical edition by F. Pindter, *Quattuor Libri Amorum* (Leipzig, 1934); his correspondence with Peutinger over the incorporation of the latter's history of the Roman emperors, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Hans Rupprich (Munich, 1934), No. 329. Celtis' *Norimberga* shows that he was by no means bound to antiquarianism when the subject moved him. See the critical edition by Albert Werminghoff, *Conrad Celtis und sein Buch über Nürnberg* (Freiburg, i.B., 1921). The direction of Celtis' influence is best perceived in the *Germania illustrata* of his close disciple, Johann Turmair, or Aventinus. See its fragments in *Johann Turmairs genannt Aventinus Sämmtliche Werke*, VI (Munich, 1908), 60–164.

[3] See Sebastian Münster's . . . *Ein vermanung Sebastiani Münster an alle liebhaber der künsten, im hilff zu thun zu warer und rechter beschreybung Teutscher Nation.* This is the second part of a pamphlet entitled *Erklerung des newen Instruments der Sunnen* (Oppenheim, 1528). See the preface to Münster's *Cosmographia* of 1544, folio a v verso, for his report on the response to this plea. See also Münster's *Germaniae atque aliarum regionum . . . descriptio*, printed in Basel in 1530 to elucidate an edition of the so-called Cusanus map of Germany. It may be found in *Schardius redivivus*, I, 238 ff.

was to describe. To know about zones and parallels, the sequence of spheres and the cause of eclipses, to be able to determine one's position on the surface of the earth, could not have been considered generally desirable except in a time of lively geographical curiosity. In such an age the descriptive works demanded not only a tone of severe accuracy, but more than a modicum of scientific substance. Matters which were close to the hearts of all humanists,

> How broad the earth, how long and wide,
> How deep and large the seas expand,
> What holds the ultimate sphere of land,
> And how at ends of earth the sea
> Clings tight to its extremity;
> If 'round the earth a man can fare,
> What men live here, what men live there,[4]

could be pursued properly only with some reference to mathematics and astronomy. And the reply to Sebastian Brant's jibe,

> Into such problems each would delve,
> Yet can he understand himself?[5]

which, surely, he himself did not take seriously, was that just in order to know himself man must 'take the compass well in hand'[6] and investigate the laws of the globe on which he makes his home.

The advance of Ptolemaic studies in the early part of the century had much to do with this scientific direction taken by an essentially amateurish movement. Even before the 1470s and 1480s, when the first printed editions of the *Geography* appeared, the Latin manuscripts which circulated were regarded as authoritative in all matters pertaining to the surface of the earth. The Rome and Venice editions of the early 1500s expanded text and cartographical material, and then the successive Strassburg editions, inaugurated under the supervision of Waldseemüller in 1513 and culminating in Pirckheimer's new translation of 1525, added a wealth of contemporary information with their twenty to twenty-three modern maps. After that date the center of Ptolemy publications shifted to Basel where Froben brought out the Greek text in 1533 and where Sebastian Münster, working with a fresh translation from the original, edited an altogether new Ptolemy with forty-eight redrawn

[4] Sebastian Brant, *Narrenschiff*, 'Of experience in all lands', tr. Edwin H. Zeydel (New York, 1944, Columbia Univ. Records of Civilization), pp. 220–225.

[5] *Ibid.*; Brant is quoting Pliny, *Natural History*, II, 1.

[6] *Ibid.*

maps especially engraved in wood. Münster's version, which first appeared in 1540 and went through several editions, was to be of great influence on sixteenth-century geographical studies.[7]

The German humanists who searched the maps and text of Ptolemy for information about ancient Germany could not have remained unmoved by the Alexandrian's insistence that the primary task of geography must be the critical collection of all materials necessary for the correct representation of the earth's surface on a series of maps.[8] In other words, the geographer was called upon to fix positions by latitude and longitude, determined astronomically. Ptolemy's distrust of descriptive geography[9] did not, of course, persuade his sixteenth-century readers to abandon their beloved storytelling. But it did lead them to a recognition of the importance of the exact basis of geography. The humanist scholar who did not want to face charges of dilettantism had to take Ptolemy's directions seriously. He usually agreed with another ancient writer of even greater influence on his geographical opinions that 'the person who attempts to write an account of the countries of the earth must take many of the physical and mathematical principles as hypotheses and elaborate his whole treatise with reference to their intent and authority'.[10] The study of the earth and its features was not a subject for idle browsing. 'The geographer', Strabo continues,

> does not write . . . for the man of affairs of the kind who has paid no attention to the mathematical sciences properly so called; nor, to be sure, does he write for the harvest hand or the ditch digger, but for the man who can be persuaded that the earth as a whole is such as the mathematicians represent it to be.[11]

Nothing Strabo outlines here would seem forbidding to the professional geographer. But what of the interested layman, the person to

[7] On Ptolemy editions cf. Paul Schnabel, *Text und Karten des Ptolemäus* (Leipzig, 1938), and on Ptolemy and his influence, the introduction to the edition of the Vatican Codex Urbinas Graecus 82 by Joseph Fischer, S.J., 'De Cl. Ptolemaei Vita Operibus Geographia Praesertim Eiusque Fatis', *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae Codex Urbinas Graecus 82 phototypice depictus*, Tomus prodromus (Leipzig, 1932). Münster's edition is described and its sources discussed by Justin Winsor, 'A Bibliography of Ptolemy's Geography' (Cambridge, Mass., 1884, *Library of Harvard University: Bibliographical Contributions* No. 18), pp. 18–23. Winsor lists Ptolemy editions from 1462 to 1867.

[8] Ptolemy, *Geography*, I, 1. I use *The Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*, tr. and ed. Edward Luther Stevenson (New York, 1932).

[9] *Geography*, I, 2.

[10] Strabo, *Geography*, II, 5, 1. I use the Loeb edition, ed. and tr. Horace Leonard Jones (London, etc., 1927–1949).

[11] *Ibid.*, II, 5, 1.

whom the humanists addressed themselves? Was it reasonable to expect that he would 'first master those principles and then consider the subsequent problems'?[12] Was it really necessary for him to burden his brain with recondite data of mathematics and physics when he wanted only to know the visible aspects of his country and his world?

A glance at the volumes which constitute the topographical-historical literature will indicate that the answer to this tacit question was 'yes'. A great many carry their own introductions to scientific geography, from Johann Cochlaeus' diminutive *Principia geographiae* which accompany his textbook edition of Pomponius Mela,[13] to Johann Rauw's comprehensive, 140-page long introduction to astronomy, astrology, mathematical and physical geography, and projection which precedes his great *Cosmography*.[14] One feels, to be sure, that this coupling of mathematical geography and description is often perfunctory. Even Sebastian Münster's introduction to his 1544 *Cosmography*,[15] though it came from the pen of one who was regarded as a specialist, scarcely bridged the gap between scientific and descriptive geography. His substantial contributions to cartography and astronomy notwithstanding, Münster, too, was preeminently and enthusiastically a narrator. He and his colleagues took the dictum of Strabo literally: the exact principles first, description thereafter. One suspects that most humanist writers would have been glad to leave the geometry and astronomy to the experts and get on with their stories. But the genre as it established itself, and the word of Ptolemy and Strabo who were its patron authorities, required that the structure rest on a scientific foundation. If this was demanding to the authors it was more so to their readers. However, in the attempt to make the principles of scientific geography palatable to the public, the German humanists could draw on their singular ability to popularize knowledge. A reader of Vadian's little introduction to general geography,[16] for example, will still appreciate the skill and understanding with which this universal humanist brought sound professional knowledge to the layman.

[12] *Ibid.*, II, 5, 1.

[13] Johann Cochlaeus, *Cosmographia Pomponii Melae . . .: parvo quodam Compendio Joannis Coclei Norici adaucta, quo geographiae principia generaliter comprehenduntur . . .* (Nuremberg, 1512), Fi^{r}–Giv^{r}.

[14] Johann Rauw, *Cosmographia . . .* (Frankfurt, 1597), Part I.

[15] Based entirely on Ptolemy's first book (*Cosmographia*, 1544, a v^{r}).

[16] *Epitome trium terrae partium, Asiae, Africae et Europae compendiariam locorum descriptionem continens . . .* (Zurich, 1534).

As a foundation of the topographical-historical genre, the scientific base was most often taken as an assumption. The typical descriptive work did its duty to the exact disciplines either by commencing with a more or less comprehensive scientific review or by referring the reader to such introductions to astronomy and geography as Peter Apian's *Cosmographicus liber*. It was not in scientific precision but in the combination of descriptive geography with narrative history that the genre attained its character. The Ptolemaic studies endowed the geography with that authority which critical investigation of sources and trained observation of people and events lent to the historiography of the partnership.

It was Strabo who had shown the way in which the two arts might join forces.[17] Strabo was to the sixteenth century quite as much an historian as a geographer,[18] and he was much cited and appealed to in the topographical-historical literature.[19] Though he accepted the primacy of mathematics and astronomy, it was political, historical, descriptive geography to which he devoted himself and which he perfected as a type.[20] Far from being a specialized science, geography was in his handling a proper pursuit only for the polyhistor:

> The science of Geography, which I now propose to investigate, is, I think, quite as much as any other science, a concern of the philosopher . . In the first place, those who in earliest times ventured to treat the subject were, in their way, philosophers—Homer, Anaximander of Miletus, and Anaximander's fellow citizen Hecataeus. . . . In the second place, wide learning, which alone makes it possible to undertake a work on geography, is possessed solely by the man who has investigated things both human and divine—knowledge of which, they say, constitutes philosophy. And so, too, the utility of geography—and its utility is manifold, not only as regards the activities of statesmen and commanders but also as regards knowledge both of the heavens and of things on land and sea, animals, plants, fruits, and everything else to be seen in various regions—the utility of geography, I say, presupposes in the geographer the same philosopher, the man who busies himself with the investigation of the art of life, that is, of happiness.[21]

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[17] Herodotus was the first to assume that exact geographical knowledge of a country is vital to an understanding of its history. But though he had been translated by Valla in 1475, Herodotus exercised little or no influence on the opinions of German humanists. He is rarely quoted.

[18] The 1472 Venice edition sees him 'non minus historicus quam Geographus atque philosophus' (*Strabonis Geographia, latine ex interpretatione Guarini Veronensis et Gregorii Typhernatis . . .*, Venice, 1472, preface).

[19] On his influence generally cf. Georg Voigt, *Wiederbelebung*, 3rd ed. (Berlin, 1893), II, 190 ff. Münster relies on him throughout: see the preface to the *Cosmographia* (1544), a iiv, and countless references to the 'hoch erfaren man Strabo' (*ibid.*, 65r) in the text. For a sweeping statement of faith in Strabo see the prefatory letter by Wolfgang Wissenburg of Basel to a volume of geographical treatises put out by Heinrich Petri, *Dominici Marii Nigri . . . Geographiae commentariorum libri XI* (Basel, 1557), iir.

[20] Hugo Berger, *Die geographischen Fragmente des Hipparch* (Leipzig, 1869), p. 20.

[21] *Geography*, I, 1, 1.

It is easy to see how such a doctrine impelled the encyclopedic proclivities of the German humanists. Johannes Aventinus, approaching from the historical side of the topographical-historical combination, felt that it is the task of history to know 'the most important things', and as he describes these, they sound much like the 'wide learning' of Strabo.[22] History must be the mirror in which the multifarious facets of a country's life are caught, just as geography gathers all the impressions of a land's physical nature. In combination the view they render is total and true, though trimmed and simplified because it represents an ordering of the innumerable impressions which meet eye and mind. Compared to such an ambitious design, the old *Germania illustrata* idea seemed pedantic indeed.

Though the best of the topographical-historical works departed from their sources sufficiently to achieve a free narrative style, their authors never abandoned their conviction that critical source study is the basis of sound historiography. The impressive history of publication of classical and medieval texts in the early sixteenth century is well known;[23] these sources served to sketch a fuller picture of the German past. Many a humanist found it worth a parenthetical remark that his material comes from 'genuine old sources, not only printed ones but manuscripts, also from old letters and charters'.[24] But it would be wrong to conclude from their expert exploitation of the archives and the library that these men were antiquarians. The topographical writers distinguish themselves clearly from their more philologically oriented colleagues by their positive attitude toward observation and experience. Vadian, for example, stated decisively that, in geographical instruction, travel and the study of maps must precede, not follow, interpretation of the authors.[25] With one voice his colleagues seemed to declare that seeing is better than reading, that the 'great store of knowledge obtained from the reports of

[22] Letter to Beatus Rhenanus, December 1525 (*Sämmtliche Werke* I, Munich, 1881, 644–645): 'Proprium historiae est maximarum rerum cognitio, nimirum agnoscere atque scire regionum gentiumque mores, situm, qualitatem telluris, religiones, instituta, leges, novos veteresque colonos, imperia, regna. Haec autem absque cosmographiae mathematicaeque diligenti studio ac peregrinatione usque ad fastidium, etiam sine ope principum ac sumptibus nec disci nec inquiri possunt. . . .'

[23] Cf. Friedrich Gotthelf, *Das deutsche Altertum in den Anschauungen des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1900).

[24] Vadian to Bullinger, May 1545, *Vadianische Briefsammlung*, ed. Emil Arbenz, VI, No. 1395.

[25] 'Rudimentaria in Gaeographiam Catechesis', *Pomponii Melae Hispani, Libri de situ orbis tres* . . . (Vienna, 1518), c 3^{v}.

those who have diligently explored certain regions'[26] would lend firmer authority to works already based on the word of established writers. Celtis often credited his geographical knowledge to his years of roaming about,[27] and Braun and Hogenberg, the editors of several majestic volumes of city descriptions, thought that in their time no one would deny that 'wandering or traveling, as long as not business and gain but learning is the motive, will increase wisdom and experience in all things'.[28]

There were few stay-at-homes among the German humanists, though journeying was still far from a routine undertaking for the average man. The travel diaries of such men as Dürer, Aventinus, and Stumpf show that the way, even along well-traveled roads, was not an easy one.[29] Good use was made of the recorded impressions of seasoned travelers like Felix Fabri, Hans Butzbach, and Hans Georg Ernstinger who had journeyed throughout Germany, but whenever possible, the author went himself. Stumpf informs us that his description of the Valais is drawn from his own observation, 'for I myself have walked from one end to the other of this splendid land and have, to the limits of my ability, measured it and recorded the sights and locations of all noteworthy villages, streams and valleys'.[30] Sebastian Brant's elaborately statistical description of the Rhine valley leaves no doubt about its author's familiarity with the roads and waterways of the country thereabouts.[31] And of Joachim Vadian it was related that

> he was such a lover of the art of geography that he never shirked to undertake long and difficult journeys to Upper and Lower Hungary, Poland, and various parts of Germany. But far from stopping there, he also travelled to Venice in Italy, crossed the Adriatic there, and climbed, nay crept, to the highest peaks of the Helvetian Alps, not without danger and toil to his person, solely in order to see and experience for himself whether there was truth in the things which others said and wrote about these places.[32]

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[26] Ptolemy, *Geography*, I, 2.

[27] *Libri odarum quatuor* . . . (Strassburg, 1513), III, 5; *Konrad Celtis: Fünf Bücher Epigramme*, ed. Karl Hartfelder (Berlin, 1881), IV, 12.

[28] *Civitates orbis terrarum* . . . (Cologne, 1572–1618), III, A^{v}.

[29] Albrecht Dürer, *Tagebuch der Reise in die Niederlande*, ed. Fritz Bergemann (Leipzig, 1933); Aventinus, 'Hauskalender', *Sämmtliche Werke* I, 655–689; Johann Stumpf, 'Reisebericht', ed. Hermann Escher, *Quellen zur schweizer Geschichte* VI (1884).

[30] *Eydgnoschaft*, 1586 edition, 605^{v}. Sebastian Münster also crossed the Valais in order to expand the section on the canton for the third edition of his *Cosmographia* (1550), p. 330.

[31] Sebastian Brant, *Beschreybung etlicher gelegenheyt Teutsches lands, an wasser, berg, stetten und grentzen mit anzeygung der meilen und strassen von statt zu statt*, in Kaspar Hedio's *Ein auserlessne Chronik* . . . (Strassburg, 1549).

[32] 'Ehren Gedechtnus des . . . Herrn Joachim von Watt', 16–17; appended to *Beschreibung der eidgenössischen Stadt St. Gallen* (St. Gall, 1683). The climb is a reference to the scaling of Mons Fractis.

Francis Bacon might have written his little essay, *Of Travel*,[33] as a commentary on the German humanist en route. The journeys of many of them show that Bacon's advice on what to see and how to make the most of it came naturally to them.

Because of the scope of their undertaking, most topographical writers relied not only on their own systematic industry, but on the accumulations of facts and figures which humanist diligence was turning out in the form of special studies, anthologies, and reference works. Many of these studies arrived too late to be of help to the earlier and most original authors, but later writers made good use of them. There were many other fields, besides the study of ancient Germany, in which specialized scholarship yielded useful results, and no humanist felt any compunctions about appropriating the work and, if desirable, the words of others, with or without citation of source. Originality was never a humanist claim because knowledge, it was thought, was common to all mankind. Life is too short, says Münster, to make a personal survey of everything that a cosmographical author ought to know.[34] Sebastian Franck freely admitted that his *Weltbuch* is 'a beehive of history, that is, like a bee I have taken from each flower a little bit with which to build my hive'.[35] The German humanists considered themselves joint members of an intellectual community; therefore such borrowing was really no more than an exchange of information towards the attainment of a common goal. No one could have felt anything but gratification when coming across a sentence, a passage, a whole chapter of his own composition in the learned work of another.

Many volumes which were turned out during the century were natural reference works, and often were intended as such. Konrad Peutinger's *Emperor Book* is an example,[36] or Johann Herold's collection of Germanic law codes published in 1557.[37] A new kind of historical manual also made its appearance, the *calendarium historicum*, the first of them probably published in 1550. This ancestor of Ploetz's *Epitome* simply listed events under the years and, if possible, the months and days of

[33] Francis Bacon, *Works*, ed. Spedding et al. (Boston, n.d.), XII, 137–140.

[34] *Cosmographia* (1544), a v[r].

[35] *Weltbuch; spiegel und bildtniss des gantzen Erdtbodens* . . . (Tübingen, 1534), 143[v].

[36] This was never published. Cf. Erich König, *Peutingerstudien* (Freiburg i.B., 1914), pp. 43–60, for a description of the manuscript.

[37] *Originum ac Germanicarum antiquitatum libri, Leges videlicet, Salicae, Allemannorum, Saxonum, Angliorum, Thuringorum, Burgundionum, Francorum, Ripuaria* [*sic*], *Boioariorum, Vuestphalorum, Vuerinorum, Frisionum, Langobardorum, Theutonum* (Basel, 1557).

their occurrence.[38] For biographical reference there was the useful dictionary of noted Germans by the Basel physician and polyhistor Heinrich Pantaleon,[39] a work which surveyed German history from earliest times to the present through the biographies of its illustrious men. Since interest in biography extended to the past, genealogy became another respected adjunct to the topographical literature. Münster's *Cosmographia* has lengthy chapters full of names strung together: the kings of France from 'Francus' to Francis I,[40] followed by all the dukes of Lorraine and Flanders; the entire Habsburg dynasty back to Charlemagne.[41] This last list comes, Münster tells us, 'from the books of the experts',[42] by which he means such genealogical researchers as Ladislaus Suntheim, court chaplain and historiographer to Maximilian, and his colleagues Johann Stabius and Jacob Manlius. These three were commissioned by the emperor to complete a history of the house of Habsburg, and by other princely houses to undertake similar works.[43]

The various treatises mentioned here were in no sense preliminary studies for the topographical-historical literature. Like the more comprehensive cosmographical volumes, they were to be components in a collection of writings which, in the aggregate, would tell the full story of Germany. Naturally there was overlapping and duplication, and the effort must not be thought of as being directed or systematic. But it was a conscious one. The agreement of motives and practices which speaks to us from the prefaces of so many of these works was not achieved by mere imitation but by a consonance of individual aims.

Consequently, the topographical-historical genre was formed out of many interests and many approaches, out of a great expansion of Celtis' plan for a *Germania illustrata* and the perfection of descriptive geography, out of critical source studies and new historical preceptions, out of travel reports, expressions of civic pride in prose or poetry, out of the simple joy of telling a story. The combination came about easily and without artifice. Nor did it have to await the perfection of any one of its

[38] Described in Franz X. von Wegele, *Geschichte der deutschen Historiographie* (Munich and Leipzig, 1885), pp. 216–217.

[39] *Prosopographiae heroum atque illustrium virorum totius Germaniae libri III* (Basel, 1565–1566). A German translation was published in 1567–1570, also in Basel.

[40] *Cosmographia* (1544), pp. 72–74.

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 225–226.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 226.

[43] Many of these are published by Andreas Felix Oefele in his *Rerum Boicarum scriptores* (Augsburg, 1763), II, 557–664.

parts. The genre had always been there, ready to be perceived. Strabo had known it and Enea Silvio had written some of his most effective geographical pieces by its rules. The ancient and contemporary models needed only to be tapped for their forms into which, and for their methods by which, the German material could be shaped.

It is now time to approach the topographical-historical works themselves in order to determine the character of the genre as it appeared to their authors. Here the prefaces and introductions come to our aid. They not only express the author's motivating aims, but are often vehicles for methodological discussions which attempt to give some articulation and coherence to the form of the work. As a rule these discussions are variations on the first chapter of the first book of Ptolemy's *Geography* in which the Alexandrian determines the limits of the science on whose study he has embarked. 'Geography', says Ptolemy,[44] 'is a representation in picture of the whole known world together with the phenomena which are contained therein.' It finds its true task in the fixing of positions, in the determination of 'the extent of the earth as well as its shape and its position under the heavens, in order that one may rightly state what are the peculiarities and proportions of the part with which one is dealing, and under what parallel of the celestial sphere it is located, for so one will be able to discuss the length of its days and nights, the stars which are fixed overhead, . . . in short, all things having regard to our earthly habitation.'

Geography, Ptolemy continues, is distinguished from chorography in that the latter selects certain places for special attention to all particulars, 'even dealing with the smallest conceivable localities, such as harbors, farms, villages, river courses, and such like'. Chorography is most concerned with 'what kind of places those are which it describes', not with size and position relative to other places, which is the business of geography. Chorography must render 'a true likeness', and to achieve this aim 'chorography needs an artist, and no one presents it rightly unless he is an artist'. Geography, in turn, requires the services of a man skilled in mathematics and geometry.

As we trace these sentences through the German topographical literature we become aware of changes in tone and emphasis. Obviously, what the topographical-historical writers regard as their province is Ptolemy's chorography, the detailed description of a particular region, not geography. Both had been cartographical pursuits to Ptolemy, but

[44] *Geography*, I, 1; Stevenson translation.

his definition was elastic, and it was understood as embracing description. As the decades go by and the object of the topographical-historical writers is more clearly articulated in their own minds, we find that their interpretations of chorography become more inclusive, more directly responsive to their interests. Lines of division are less sharply drawn and the names become interchangeable, so that when some writers speak of chorography they may be referring to what others call geography or even cosmography, a much more inclusive term. At the same time the more professionally oriented geographers show a tendency to stand aloof. A division becomes discernible between the 'artists' and the geometricians who hold their ground on the pristine Ptolemaic definition of their discipline. To Peter Apian, for example, the distinctions were as clear-cut as Ptolemy's: cosmography is the consideration of the universe in its four elements, earth, water, air, fire. Cosmography sees the earth in relation to the other celestial bodies while geography is 'a faithful pictorial, that is, cartographic representation of the land and its features'.[45] Both are clearly mathematical pursuits, as they seem to have remained to all but the group of humanists with which we are concerned. On the subject of chorography, one of lesser interest to him, Apian quotes Ptolemy nearly verbatim.

Gemma Frisius' definitions are the same as Apian's.[46] Joachim Rheticus, the Wittenberg astronomer, also held to the strictly mathematical interpretation of geography and chorography.[47] In the discussions of other writers, however, the distinctions began to blur. Vadian, in the methodological preface to his Pomponius Mela commentary of 1518, sounds a significant note of departure from Ptolemy. Geography, cosmography, topography, topothesy, and chorography, he writes, are words which, though they all deal with the study and description of the earth, have often been confused by writers. 'Now geography, if we trace the etymology of the word, is the science which describes the position of the continents relative to the ocean and the Mediterranean Sea as well as the places situated anywhere on this land.' Cosmography, on the other hand, deals with the heavens as well as with our world; its special

[45] *Petri Apiani Cosmographia* . . . (first ed. 1524; I use ed. Antwerp, 1540), pp. iii–iv.

[46] Gemma Frisius (Rainer Gemma), *De principiis astronomiae et cosmographiae* . . . (Antwerp, 1530).

[47] Joachim Rheticus, *Chorographia, tewsch, durch Georgium Joachimum Rheticum . . . zusamengebracht und an den Tag geben, MDXLI.* See the edition of the manuscript by Franz Hipler, 'Die Chorographie des Joachim Rheticus', *Zeitschr. f. Math. u. Phys., Hist.-lit. Abt.*, XXI (1876), 125–150.

concern is the relationship between the planet earth and the entire cosmic system. 'The geographer, in addition to listing places, concerns himself generally with their histories and with inquiries about the origins of cities, races, nations, and peoples, and furthermore with the significance of names and with noteworthy events not only in nature but also in the affairs of men, of which a great many can be observed on earth. The cosmographer mentions regions, cities, streams, oceans, and mountains merely to fix the boundaries and limits of lands or to indicate their situation relative to the constellations. . . . The geographer's work is more akin to that of the poets and historians . . . for which reason—as we can see if we investigate carefully—Strabo, Pliny, and others were of much help to poets and historians in their descriptions of localities.' The cosmographer inclines more toward geometry and astronomy; but each is dependent on the other. Cosmography is a more precise science because, in its search for absolute axioms, it must base itself on exact laws. Geography, however, relying, as it does, on the evidence of literary tradition, 'can be neither certain nor free from internal contradictions, for time leaves no mortal thing unchanged'. Chorography restricts itself to individual regions and describes them in the manner of a painting (*picturae similitudine observata prosequitur*). Chorography is limited to the local, the particular, which it depicts in all its precise details, while geography aims at a synoptic view of lands in their entirety.[48]

Though he retains the form of Ptolemy's definition, Vadian considerably enlarges the scope of geography to take in those historical, ethnic, and social investigations so important to humanist scholarship. Geography and chorography no longer differ in kind, only in compass. The exact sciences are now associated with cosmography, where they are, in Vadian's definition, beyond the range of most of the topographical-historical writers. Literary sources are considered proper geographical evidence.

As the *Catechesis* was one of Vadian's most widely read works—it has with good reason been called 'the manifesto of the political geographers'[49]—and as his subsequent publications elaborated and exemplified the method outlined in it, Vadian's words can be taken as the inception of an effort to evolve the rules of a distinct geographical form. Precise

[48] 'Ioachimi Vadiani Helvetii Rudimentaria in Gaeographiam Catechesis ...', *Pomponii Melae Hispani, Libri de situ orbis tres, adiectis Ioachimi Vadiani Helvetii in eosdem scholiis: Addita quoque in Gaeographiam Catechesi* .... (Vienna, 1518), a 3^{v} ff.

[49] Lucien Gallois, *Les géographes allemands de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1890), p. 160.

men might deplore the loose way in which 'cosmography' and 'geography' were bandied about by amateurs,[50] but the definitions had to be stretched to suit the purpose.

In the 'cosmographical' works of the middle and late period of the century the topographical-historical type was worked out in accordance with these definitions. Vadian's fusion of chorography and geography is now extended to include cosmography as well. To Münster, cosmography meant simply 'description of the world' and geography 'description of the earth'.[51] No differentiation is made, but he is sure what his task, as cosmographer, is to be. His *Cosmographia*, a huge work of some 650 folio pages in the original, and nearly 1,200 pages in the enlarged edition, describes the whole known world, country by country and region by region[52]—in other words, chorographically—and is packed with information considered appropriate to geography by Vadian. 'For this art', Münster writes, speaking of 'the Gentle Art of Geography', 'deals not only with countries, states, and customs of sundry peoples, but concerns itself also with many other things on earth and in the oceans, such as strange animals, trees, metals, and similar useful and harmful things found in the soil and in water.' All these his *Cosmography* will put before our eyes. 'I shall lead you from land to land', Münster promises, 'and we shall even venture out to sea, so that I may point out to you cities, mountains, rivers, deserts, and many other things profitable and diverting to know about, such as the customs, characteristics, and practices of foreign peoples, also the plants that grow in the countries they inhabit and the treasures found in their soil.'[53]

Johann Stumpf, like Münster, wishes to guide his reader along a path

[50] Bonaventura Vulcanius writes to Abraham Ortelius, the Belgian cartographer, in 1598, taking issue with the title 'Cosmographia' of a truly *geographical* work by Paulus Merula. He continues: '*κόσμον* enim appellatione et caelum et terra comprehenditur. Et video doctos viros nonnullos etiam in huius vocis usurpatione labi; qui te Cosmographum Regium vocant; cum sis meo quidem judicio Geographus.' (*Abrahami Ortelius . . . Epistulae*, ed. Jan Hendrik Hessels, Cambridge, 1887, p. 743.)

[51] *Cosmographia* (1544), preface, a iii^{r}.

[52] '. . . gelegenheit und form des gantzen Erdtreichs und seiner Stück, dass ist, besonderer Landtschafften . . .' (*Cosmographia*, 1598, a v^{r}).

[53] *Ibid.* There was nothing exclusively German about this cosmographical form as described by Münster. Cf. André Thevet, *La Cosmographie universelle* (Paris, 1575) 1, a v^{r}: 'Vous trouverez qu'en ce mien oeuvre ie me suis essaié de faire comme Solin en son livre nommé Polyhistor, ou non seulement il fait mention des païs et villes: mais aussi des animaux, maniere de vivre des habitans, et plusieurs autres choses singulieres; a fin que l'oeuvre composé de diverses matieres, puisse mieux recreer l'entendement humain, qui est semblable aux terres, qui demandent diversité, et mutation de semences.'

of geographical and historical discovery, but his description of Switzerland is referred to as a chorography.[54] To Johann Rauw, whose massive *Cosmographia* appeared at the very end of the century, cosmography and geography are one and the same, both 'indicating the situation of cities and places',[55] the former with substantial preliminary notices of the heavenly bodies. Braun and Hogenberg regarded geography as a summary representation of the physical features of the whole earth, while the chorographer (or topographer, as they have it) 'describes each section of the world individually with its cities, villages, islands, rivers, lakes, mountains, springs, and so on, and tells its history, making everything so clear to the reader that he seems to be seeing the actual town or place before his eyes'.[56]

Whatever the endeavor was to be called, then, its character was regarded as determined. The topographical-historical work was to contain a minute and comprehensive description of as much or as little of the world as its author set out to survey, 'leaving out not a mountain, farmyard, creek, house, tower, wall, or wood',[57] and relating everything necessary to a consummate understanding of its nature, that is, explaining '*Locus*, *Tempus*, and *Historia*'.[58] Descriptions and generalizations were to be based on accurate investigation, and the reader was, if possible, and especially in the larger cosmographies, to be made aware of the design of the realm of nature and its laws. In form it was to be a refurbishing of the ancient *periegesis*[59] in which we are transported from place to place on the winged words of the writer. In spirit, finally, it was meant to bring the world at large and, especially, his own native land closer to the reader. Germany was to be illustrated not just by demonstrating the survival of her ancient habitations, but through the description of a living country.

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[54] Preface to the reader by Johann Rudolph Stumpf in the second edition of the *Eydgnoschaft* (Zurich, 1586), iiii^{v}.

[55] *Cosmographia* . . . (Frankfurt, 1597), iiii^{r}.

[56] *Civitates* III, A^{v}–B^{r}. Jean Bodin, in the *Methodus ad facilem historiarium cognitionem* (Paris, 1572), chap. 2, pp. 26–30, arrives at the same definition, but goes on to distinguish between *chorographia*, *topographia*, and *gromatica* (land surveying).

[57] Sebastian Franck, *Weltbuch* . . ., 3^{r}.

[58] Johann Rauw, *Cosmographia* . . ., iiii^{v}.

[59] Johann Stumpf, *Eydgnoschaft* (1586), iiii^{v}.

Early Anglo-Saxon Studies and Legal Scholarship in the Renaissance

I BEGIN with the acceptance of Laurence Nowell as the father of Anglo-Saxon studies in Renaissance England. His claim was recognized by his contemporary Camden, who bestowed upon him the title of 'the first restorer of the Saxon language', and the scholarship of Robin Flower and Albert H. Marckwardt[1] has reminded us of the propriety, indeed the legality, of that claim. My purpose in this paper is to trace Anglo-Saxon studies among the legal scholars who came after Nowell and established a continuous tradition to carry forward Nowell's pioneer work. I want to comment on this tradition and to suggest reasons for it and some of the implications of it.

To begin with Nowell I must pass over Leland, Bale, Cotton, and Parker, all Tudor figures who deserve a word at least of recognition. Today we exclaim at the ambitious dreams of John Leland—surely no scholar ever recorded so hopeful a list of works in progress—but he was not a Saxon scholar. Bale, too, belongs in another category: that of the scholar *manqué*, the scholar seduced by controversy and partisan warfare (and too often this mars his plays as well). Today we recognize the priceless and unique contributions of Sir Robert Cotton and Archbishop Parker in gathering manuscripts when they did; but though Parker was a great collector of manuscripts, and a reader of them as well, he was not a scholar;[2] and magnificent as was Cotton's generosity in throwing open his library to serious scholars, his part in the Society of Antiquaries and his occasional papers were not the steady and concentrated work of a

[1] Robin Flower, 'Laurence Nowell and the Discovery of England in Tudor Times', *Proceedings of the British Academy* XXI (1935), 47–73; *Laurence Nowell's Vocabularium Saxonicum*, ed. Albert H. Marckwardt (Ann Arbor, 1952).

[2] See H. Arneke, *Kirchengeschichte und Rechtsgeschichte in England* (Halle, 1937), and Eleanor Adams, *Old English Scholarship in England from 1566–1800* (New Haven, 1917, Yale Studies in English LV) pp. 36–38.

scholar.[3] In such a scholarly *occupatio* we ought not to neglect the lawyer-statesman Sir William Cecil, who was active in the Society of Antiquaries and some of whose books went into Cotton's library, and who, as we shall see, played the patron to Nowell's scholarship.

But clearly the real work of Anglo-Saxon studies begins with Laurence Nowell, who studied at Cambridge, then the early seat of Anglo-Saxon interest,[4] and also at Oxford. It was Nowell who played the vital role in the Tudor discovery of old England, and who by the fate of literary history has become only a name remembered not too well in surveys of English literary scholarship. From the recent studies of Marckwardt and Flower we have learned that 'Nowell's greatest activity in Old English studies was between the years 1561 and 1566'[5]—the timing is significant—and from these two scholars we have learned how extensively Nowell worked in the field of Anglo-Saxon laws, though the laws cannot now be thought to have been one of the two chief sources of his dictionary (as Miss Adams believed in 1917[6]). Surely there is little need to comment on the *Vocabularium Saxonicum* (that 'first attempt at a dictionary of Old English') now that we have Professor Marckwardt's excellent edition to indicate the scholarship of Nowell and the influence of his work upon later dictionaries.[7]

Let me turn from Nowell's *Vocabularium* to what I consider to be the more important question of his impact upon his contemporaries. We ought before now to have had published a history of the early antiquarians who formed the first Society of Antiquarians about 1584–1586;[8]

[3] Some of Cotton's contributions to the society are reprinted in Hearne's *Curious Discourses* (London, 1773), and give testimony to 'his consummate knowledge in history and antiquities' by reason of which 'during this whole reign he was consulted as an oracle by the privy counsellors and greatest men in the kingdom, upon every difficult point relating to the constitution' (II, 428).

As Prof. Linda Van Norden has made clear in her splendid study of the chronology of the College of Antiquaries, Cotton was about twenty years younger than Camden and took his degree from Cambridge early in 1586 ('Sir Henry Spelman on the Chronology of the Elizabethan College of Antiquaries', *Huntington Library Quarterly* XIII, 1949–1950, 158).

[4] Flower, *loc. cit.*

[5] Marckwardt, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[6] Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[7] I have briefly commented on these points in a short review in *Scrinium* V (1954), 5.

[8] Prof. Van Norden has studied the society in her unpublished dissertation, *The Elizabethan College of Antiquaries* (U.C.L.A., 1946), and the problem of its chronology has been discussed in the article cited above in note 3.

we might, I think, be surprised to discover that more than two-thirds of the forty-three members of the Elizabethan society were members of the inns of court.[9] Certainly Nowell was one of the first circle of those whose interest led to the founding of the society, and with him was the young lawyer who collaborated with him (and perhaps strengthened his interest in the early laws) and inherited his library, William Lambarde; and there was Parker, whose activity was surely less than Nowell's, though we cannot yet speak with certainty of the importance of his influence; and later, Cotton. Logically, then (I quote from Stuart Piggott's recent British Academy lecture on Camden[10]), 'it was to Nowell and his circle—Archbishop Parker, Sir Robert Cotton, William Lambarde—that Camden [fifteen years younger than Lambarde and thirty years younger than Nowell] would most naturally turn'.

Of all these named, the two whose scholarship fathered a tradition that completed and carried forward the work they began were Lambarde and Camden. I have no quarrel with Camden's greatness, nor do I wish to derogate the work that he did nor to question his influence on those that followed the path of his *Britannia* and *The Remaines*. My point is that he was preceded by Lambarde as clearly as Lambarde was preceded by Nowell, and one fact may be offered as reinforcement of this point: Camden was sufficiently respectful of the older Lambarde, and the two on sufficiently intimate terms, for Camden in 1595 to send the *Britannia* to Lambarde in manuscript for his comments.[11] Camden, by the way, had previously been admitted to Gray's Inn in 1592 (this honorary admission, much like our modern honorary doctorates, seems to have escaped general notice), and the entry in the records describes him as one 'qui Brittaniam nostram doctissime illustravit'.[12] The inns always respected learning.

But it is of Lambarde now, and of his successors among the learned lawyers, that I wish to speak. William Lambarde owed much to Laurence Nowell, and it has been suggested that it had been through Laurence's brother Robert, attorney-general of the influential Court of Wards,

[9] Support for this statement is to be found in my paper on 'The Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries and Men of Law', *N & Q*, n.s. 1 (1954), 417–421—see supplementary note, *ibid.*, p. 544.

[10] 'William Camden and the Britannia', Reckitt Archaeological Lecture, *Proceedings of the British Academy* XXXVII (1951), 201.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 202.

[12] J. Foster, *The Register of Admissions to Gray's Inn, 1521–1889* (1889), p. 81.

that Laurence met the young Lambarde, Robert's contemporary at Lincoln's Inn.[13] It is not unlikely, but perhaps we may see Cecil's influence here also, for not only was Cecil master of the Court of Wards but it was in his house that Nowell lived during the 1560s, those years of great activity in Old English studies. There seems no doubt that Lambarde learned Old English from Nowell, though the stimulation of the friendship worked both ways to heighten if not to arouse Nowell's interest in the Old English laws. But Nowell of course made his transcriptions of the laws and turned them over to Lambarde before going abroad in 1567; and it was this collection which Lambarde published in 1568 under the title of *Archaionomia*.[14] Lambarde added a parallel Latin translation and also a glossary of about one hundred words, 'the first printed nucleus of an Old English vocabulary', drawing heavily upon Nowell's *Vocabularium Saxonicum*, which was part of the manuscript collection turned over to Lambarde.[15]

In the opinion of the great modern editor of Anglo-Saxon laws, Dr. Liebermann, Lambarde's work in editing was good; and it had the recognition of his inn, for Lincoln's Inn rewarded him with a kind of honorary benchership in 1579. The entry is of some interest, for it reads that as Lambarde 'hath deserved universallie well of his comen welth and contrie, and likewyse of the Felloweshippe and Societie of this Howse and is like hereafter to wyn greater credytt to hymself and the Socyetie of this Howse' he is to be made an Associate of the Bench, without 'eny thing payinge for the same'. But the canny lawyers stipulated that this was not to be a precedent.[16]

That there were flaws in Lambarde's editing was long suspected by modern scholars, and we are indebted to Kenneth Sisam for making clear what that flaw was: indeed, by our seeing more clearly the procedure of Nowell and Lambarde, and other Renaissance editors, we can

[13] Flower, *loc. cit.*, p. 52.

[14] Printed by John Day and encouraged by Parker—see Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[15] Marckwardt, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

[16] This honorary benchership was clearly granted because of the *Archaionomia* of 1568 and the *Perambulation of Kent* of 1576, for the *Eirenarcha* (or office of the justices of peace) was afterwards, 1581. See *The Records of the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn—The Black Books* (1897), I, 412. A further honor was bestowed upon Lambarde in 1597 by his appointment as bencher because he was 'of great reading, learning and experience' (*ibid.*, II, 51: the footnote observes that he was appointed master of chancery in June 1592 and had just one month previously been made keeper of the records in the Rolls Chapel).

understand far better the relationships between their manuscripts and their transcripts and texts.[17] The *Archaionomia* of 1568 was a pioneer work in restoring the forgotten laws to the students of the common law, as well as charting a new-found land for the antiquarian Saxonists; and because those laws 'had a direct bearing upon constitutional and legal antiquities, they could be pressed into the service of those who fought the battle of the constitution in the following century'.[18] Thus, in tracing the revival of interest in Anglo-Saxon to 'its beginning in the defense of the people against the Divine Right claimed by the king', Prof. Roberta Brinkley puts the cart before the horse: the Jacobean and Caroline use of Anglo-Saxon (and the laws especially) for the defense of the common-law tradition and the people was possible only after the early work of Elizabethan legal scholars like Lambarde and others.[19]

Lambarde's *Archeion* (completed in 1591 but not published until 1635), a substantial survey of the courts of common law and of the councils and new courts of the sixteenth century, 'enabled pedigrees of our institutions and our laws to be traced back to an antiquity sufficiently remote and obscure to justify many ingenious deductions as to their rightful relations and proper sphere in the modern state', as Holdsworth puts it.[20] And this work compels us to pause to consider the very different aims of the lawyer and the historian in their search for cases and historical examples, for, as Maitland has brilliantly pointed out, there are two

[17] 'The Authenticity of Certain Texts in Lambard's *Archaionomia* 1568', *MLR* XVIII (1923), 98 ff., rptd. in *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (1953).

Although Sisam's claim that Lambarde's texts of I Athelstan and Athelstan's Charitable Ordinance were translations into Anglo-Saxon (Elizabethan) from the Latin of Quadripartitus was contested by Liebermann, Sisam's fuller analysis of the textual problem in *MLR* XX seems to demonstrate that claim (though apparently Sisam's 'contentions have not been universally accepted').

After the delivery of his British Academy lecture, Flower found, among the Somner MSS. in the Canterbury Chapter Library, 'Nowell's transcript of the Laws of Canute from Harley MS. 55, prepared for the press by Lambarde' (*op. cit.*, p. 68, n. 17).

[18] Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, IV, 117. Prof. R. F. Jones supports this statement, but from a different approach and with different logic (*The Triumph of the English Language*, Stanford, 1953, p. 270), and argues that 'the Saxon craze and the demand for the study of the Saxon language began with' Camden's *Remaines* and Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*: my thesis in this paper is that it began earlier, with Camden's and Verstegan's work doubtless reinforcing or accelerating the Saxon craze. Cf. my review in *Scrinium* V (1954), 208.

[19] *Arthurian Legend in the Seventeenth Century* (1932), p. 53. Cf. Jones's argument, cited in the preceding footnote.

[20] *Op. cit.*, IV, 117.

different logics, 'the logic of authority and the logic of evidence . . . What the lawyer wants is authority and the newer the better; what the historian wants is evidence and the older the better'.[21] Yet one questions how clearly this distinction could be established in the thinking and writings of Elizabethan legal scholars. A Maitland perceives this and states it more clearly than many legal scholars of our times could have done; unquestionably many of the early scholars wanted evidence as authority and confused the logic of authority and the logic of evidence as surely as they sometimes confused other kinds of logic, Aristotelian and Ramistic, with their rhetoric.[22] The fact remains that many early lawyers hunted most diligently for ancient documents—Maitland exclaims that 'the amount of old manuscripts that Anthony Fitz-Herbert had perused and digested may well astonish us'[23]—and they hunted the title-deeds of a national church, 'expressed in an unknown tongue and a barely legible script', with excitement, devotion, and growing scholarship.

Let me give a sketch of three legal scholars who followed in Lambarde's steps. Sir Henry Spelman (1564–1641) went down from Trinity College, Cambridge, and became a barrister at Lincoln's Inn. A member of the Society of Antiquaries,[24] he was able to retire at about the time that the society disbanded under James I and to devote the remainder of his long life to antiquarian studies; though a student at Lincoln's Inn, he did not rise high in the common law, for apparently (as Holdsworth writes) 'his chief work was done in the sphere of ecclesiastical history'.[25] His tract on tenures by knight service was of considerable importance in English legal history, and his glossary (part I, 1626, part II, posthumous, 1664) was in Holdsworth's view the earliest dictionary of old legal and historical terms. He founded a short-lived Anglo-Saxon lectureship at Cambridge, the income of which his son gave to Somner to help in the publication of his Saxon dictionary.

Like his father, John Spelman (1598–1669) was trained in an inn of court—Gray's—and turned to ecclesiastical law; he was made registrar

[21] *Collected Papers*, I, 490.
[22] See my 'Rhetoric and Law in 16th-century England', *SP* L (1953), 110–127.
[23] *Op. cit.*, I, 451.
[24] Holdsworth, V, 403. See Van Norden, *op. cit.*
[25] *Op. cit.*, V, 403.

of the ecclesiastical courts of the diocesan Court of Canterbury by Laud.[26] Though most of his significance is to be found in his contributions to the work of his contemporaries (as in his help in Dugdale's *Monasticon*), he edited the *Psalterium Davidis Latino-Saxonicum vetus* (London, 1640), and compiled a life of King Alfred that was published in 1678.[27]

Sir Simonds D'Ewes is of course famous for his journals of the Elizabethan Parliaments, which are still of prime value to the constitutional historian.[28] A student of the Middle Temple, he began consulting records, he tells us, to get light on various points of law and was free of Cotton's library to borrow books and manuscripts; though a student of wide learning, he accomplished rather little, perhaps not so much because of his carefulness during the period of conflict as (so Jessopp says) because he had little constructive ability and was a copyist and collector rather than an author. He planned but only partially executed an Anglo-Saxon dictionary, the drain down which the energies of so many independent scholars was poured, though it was of course (to change the figure) a necessary anvil on which the adventurous scholars in a new field had to forge new abilities, new tools, and new knowledge. Unlike Lambarde, Somner, and the Spelmans, D'Ewes was essentially a student and a scholar rather than a professional lawyer—by D'Ewes' time, the climates of opinion in the inns had changed considerably—though it is doubtless the professional training in law which gave all of them their sense of method and standards of accuracy. But they all in a sense only prepared the way for that legal scholar who was in Milton's phrase (no light praise, to be sure), 'the chief of learned men reputed in this land', John Selden of the Inner Temple. But his is another story.[29]

And this cannot be the place to discourse at length upon the inns of court as centers of intellectual activity (it is an exceedingly complex problem which I hope to develop in a future study), but some commentary is relevant here to this sketch of legal scholarship. Though modern Renaissance scholars have generally accepted the notion of the inns of court as the third university of Tudor England, I know of no essay or monograph which makes plain the full scope and intensity of intellectual

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] This section is largely condensed from Holdsworth, v, 404–405.

[28] *Ibid.* See the edition of his *Journals* by Wallace Notestein (New Haven, 1933).

[29] Holdsworth's excellent summary of his eminence as a legal historian (v, 407–412) is largely drawn from the studies of Hazeltine in the *Harvard Law Review* XXIV (1910) and XXIV (1911).

activity at the inns.[30] Yet a calling of the great names can give some notion of their world. At Lincoln's Inn in the 1580s were Lambarde, an honorary bencher, Sir Henry Spelman, and the historically bent Richard Stanyhurst; in the 90s came John Donne (in the tradition of his father's family and that of Sir Thomas More), and Egerton too was a member; a generation later, William Prynne. Gray's was the inn not only of the Bacons, William Cecil, Abraham Fraunce, and George Gascoigne, but also of Minshull, Camden, Campion, and both younger Spelmans, John and Clement; later came Sir Roger Twysden, another of our legal scholars. At the Inner Temple we find Coke and the Beaumonts (earlier of course Sackville and Norton), then Christopher Hatton; later it is the inn of John Selden. Earlier in the sixteenth century Ascham had been admitted to the Middle Temple, and Baldwin had been a member; then Plowden with his massive scholarship;[31] and later John Hoskyns and Sir Simonds D'Ewes. To nearly all of these men the adjective learned might be applied with justice; a large part of the poets, the translators, the Tudor men of letters, came from the inns.

That the inns upon occasion helped toward the publication of learned works of law is not surprising, nor perhaps that such a work as Minsheu's *Guide into Tongues* of 1617 was so aided by Gray's, Lincoln's, and the Inner Temple.[32] We need not go all the way along with Maitland's claim (though even the lightest of that great scholar's claims can never be dismissed) that the English common lawyers were the first scholars in the modern sense. But surely we can agree that it is out of the ferment and stimulation and recognition of the inns that such early scholars as Lambarde worked, that it is an inseparable part of the story of the Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries, which unquestionably 'aroused a greatly extended interest in the general field of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman literature'.[33] Without the society as a group and without the contributions

[30] Still the standard survey is A. Wigfall Green, *The Inns of Court and Early English Drama* (New Haven, 1931), but the whole vast area needs further study. There is an interesting summary discussion by A.-H. Chroust, 'The Beginning, Flourishing and Decline of the Inns of Court . . .' in the *Vanderbilt Law Review* x (1956), 79–123. See my comments in 'Early Tudor Drama and the Inns of Court', *ASTR Newsletter* (Nov. 1957), pp. [1–5].

[31] See Richard O'Sullivan, Q.C., *Edmund Plowden, 1518–1585* (Autumn Reading, Middle Temple Hall, 12 Nov. 1952).

[32] Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[33] See H. R. Steeves, *Learned Societies and English Literary Scholarship* (Columbia U. P., 1913), p. 35.

of its individual lawyers and above all the still unappreciated force of the inns as centers of intellectual life, the shaping traditions of English scholarship would have been very different, and other activities and institutions and traditions would have been delayed, no doubt, an incalculable length of time.

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Library Catalogues and Tudor Oxford and Cambridge

IN THE introduction to his valuable aid to research, *Library Catalogues of the English Renaissance*,[1] Sears Jayne makes some helpful suggestions about how the evidence whose whereabouts he has discovered and revealed to us may enlarge our knowledge and improve our understanding of the English Renaissance. In one respect, however, he fails to do full justice to the potentialities of the sources he has opened up. For some reason, he permits an old myth about Tudor Oxford and Cambridge to color his opinion of what the lists of books contained in inventories of the personal effects of university students who died while they were in residence at Oxford and Cambridge prove about the character and intellectual life of the two institutions. He states categorically in one place that 'the catalogues reflect beautifully the contrast between conservative, scholastic Oxford and reforming, humanist Cambridge'.[2] In making this statement, Mr. Jayne not only allows old traditional ideas to keep his scholarly instincts in fetters but also fixes bonds of the same sort on other scholars who turn to the new evidence.

There is, however, another and perhaps more important reason for questioning Mr. Jayne's reiteration of an oft-repeated opinion about the contrast between Oxford and Cambridge in the sixteenth century. Heretofore this opinion has existed as the residue of a general impression left by plausible but far from conclusive explanations of relevant but fragmentary bits of evidence.[3] Now Mr. Jayne announces that a large

[1] Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956. Hereafter cited as Jayne, *Library Catalogues*.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

[3] The fullest recent treatment of this thesis and the substantiating evidence for it can be found in A. L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth: the Structure of Society* (London, 1951), pp. 512–519. Rowse's discussion is largely based on J. Bass Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge*, vol. II (Cambridge, 1884). This is the real source of the myth in its modern form.

quantity of previously unused contemporary materials clearly corroborates that impression and converts what had been a statement of opinion into a statement of fact. Hence, before one can now proceed to reëvaluate the undoubted differences between Tudor Oxford and Cambridge and to show that they were not as great and far-reaching as they have been made to seem—undertakings which form part of a study of the English universities upon which I am engaged—one must come to grips with the new, seemingly incontrovertible evidence that they were indeed what they have been represented to be.

This problem which Mr. Jayne's comments present to a skeptical mind can, however, be solved rather simply by direct reference to the new evidence itself. The catalogues of university libraries do *not* in fact 'reflect beautifully the contrast between conservative, scholastic Oxford and reforming, humanist Cambridge'. On the contrary, they show that the intellectual influences of the age were having equal and similar effects in both English universities. A review of Oxford catalogues in despite of Mr. Jayne proves that Gabriel Harvey's description of Cambridge interests in the 1580s also fits the sister institution. At Oxford as well as at Cambridge 'Dunse and Thomas of Aquine with the whole rablement of schoolemen were abondonid [the] schooles and expellid the Universitye'.[4] There, as well as at Cambridge, one could find scholars reading 'Castiglioes fine Cortegiano', 'Guatzoes newe Discourses of curteous behavior', Guicciardini, Commines, Bodin, and 'many owtlandishe braveryes besides of the same stampe'. Finally, just as at Cambridge, some good fellows among the Oxford men were beginning 'to be prettely well acquayntid with a certayne parlous booke callid . . . Il Principe di Niccolo Machiavelli'.[5]

I can only conjecture why Mr. Jayne failed to make this observation. Perhaps the state in which he found the university catalogues at Oxford and Cambridge respectively is chiefly responsible for this oversight. At Oxford, most of the inventories of students who died while in residence at the university and whose wills were therefore proved in the court of the university chancellor are bound together and alphabetically arranged in folio volumes. The keeper of the archives, Mr. W. A. Pantin, fellow of Oriel College, prepared some years ago a typescript index of all those which contain lists of books. At Cambridge, on the other hand, the in-

[4] *Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey, A.D. 1573–1580*, ed. by J. L. Scott (Westminster, 1874, Camden Society, new ser. XXXIII), p. 78.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

ventories have only recently become accessible after nearly a century of neglect at Peterborough and they are still kept in loose bundles in the University Archives.[6] It is conceivable then that in spite of all the arduous careful work which Mr. Jayne put into his compilation, he became by force of circumstances more familiar with the contents of the Cambridge inventories than with the contents of those at Oxford. He may therefore have reached his conclusions under the strong influence of the myth, uncorrected by an extensive knowledge of the Oxford catalogues.

My own conclusions are based on transcripts which I made in 1949 of seventeen inventories of books owned by Oxford students at their death. In selecting the lists which I transcribed, I attempted so far as possible to get a good sampling of Oxford private libraries by decades and fields of academic interest. Jayne cites all of the ones I copied in Part II of his 'Inventory'.[7] In chronological order, they are the catalogues for the libraries of Thomas Griffith (d. 1562), William Dayrell, B.A. (d. 1577), John Glover, M.A. (d. 1578), John Hornsley, M.A. (d. 1578), Thomas Ruckwoode (d. 1581), John Foster, B.C.L. (d. 1584), John Haynes, M.A. (d. 1585), Robert Dowe, B.C.L. (d. 1588), Edward Higgins, M.A. (d. 1588), Christopher Tilyard, B.A. (d. 1598), William Mitchell, B.D. (d. 1599), Richard Fisher, M.A. (d. 1601), George Barton, B.D. (d. 1602), William Gearing, M.A. (d. 1607), Abel Trefrie, M.A. (d. 1610), Edward Holmer, M.A. (d. 1614), and Thomas Hudson, B.A. (d. 1618).

In general the remarks that Mr. Jayne makes about the student libraries at Cambridge also apply to those at Oxford.[8] In most lists, as he notes, the English titles are few and far between, though at Oxford they become more frequent in the catalogues of the late Elizabethan period and two or three of the libraries contain highly interesting collections of English works. Worthy of special notice is a feature which Jayne does not mention in describing the Cambridge libraries: many of the Oxford catalogues list a number of works in modern foreign languages, especially in Italian and French. Furthermore, a good number of them contain works of non-classical history: Dowe owned twelve historical works, including Giucciardini's *History of Italy*, Commines' *Memoires*, Camden's *Britannia*, and Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*. At least four

[6] Jayne, *Library Catalogues*, pp. 11–12. When I was in Cambridge in the summer of 1949, I made several unsuccessful attempts to get access to the library catalogues of Cambridge students. They were then still at Peterborough and my letters seeking permission to see them went unanswered.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 93–172.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 51–53.

of them, Glover, Hornsley, Dowe, and Mitchell, had Bodin's *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*. Many had acquired some work that would teach young men the proper attributes and accomplishments of gentlemen and courtiers. The works of this sort whose titles appear most frequently are Elyot's *Governour*, Castiglione's *Cortegiano* in Italian and French as well as in the English translation, Ascham's *Scholemaster* and *Toxophilus*, Vives' *De disciplinis*, and Guazzo's *Civile Conversation*. Some of the catalogues include works that would supply practical knowledge for country gentlemen and members of the governing classes: among these, the more important are the *Mirrour for Magistrates*, copies of the statutes of England, and handbooks for justices of the peace. Several have works in political theory and moral philosophy which reflected modern criticism and thought on affairs of state. More than one Oxford scholar owned More's *Utopia*; one possessed Sir Thomas Smith's *De republica Anglorum*; and another, the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*. Three of them owned both Bodin's *De republica* and Machiavelli's *Prince*. Distributed throughout all the lists are titles which are constant reminders that the collectors of these libraries lived in the age of humanism. Even those libraries which were strong in theology were liberally furnished with such works. And for the few works of scholastic theology that appear in the catalogues of the theological libraries, there are many by Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, Jewel, and others of the modern Protestant divines. These libraries, in other words, give unquestionable evidence that Oxford students as well as those at Cambridge were participating in the intellectual ferment of the times.

To substantiate in part at least the statements which I have made in this note, I offer here one of the Oxford catalogues upon which they are based. Since Jayne published in Appendix III of his book the library catalogue of Abraham Tilman who died in 'reforming, humanist Cambridge' in 1589, I have chosen for this purpose the inventory of Edward Higgins who died in 'conservative, scholastic Oxford' the year before. As student libraries of the time went, Higgins' was a large one and contained more than the usual number of English works. For these reasons, it may not be quite as representative as Tilman's library. Yet in other respects it reflects quite accurately the variety of interests pursued by Oxford students of the age. There is, indeed, good reason to print it because of its peculiarities: a warning about its unrepresentative character will prevent it from becoming the basis for hasty generalizations while publishing it will distinctly show that the universities, *both* of them, were active centers of intellectual life in Elizabethan England.

[Archives of the University of Oxford, Inventories, G–Hi]

An ynventorye of the goods of Edwarde Higgins Mr. of artes and late fellowe of Brasenose Colledge deceassed taken and prysed the 3 of februarye 1587 [1588].

[Folio 1 of the inventory contains a list of furniture, clothing, and other personal effects that is here omitted.]

[fol. 2]

Biblia Roberti Stephani 2obus voluminibus[9]	xvj s	
Biblia interlineata	xxvj	viij d
Byble Englishe Geneva in folio	ix s	
Biblia Tremellij 4°	vj s	viij d
Biblia Tiguri 4°	ij s	
Rhemishe Testament 4°	x s	
Bezae in novum testamentum annotationes	xvj s	
Erasmus in novum testamentum	v s	
Calvinus in mosen	ix s	
Zanchius de tribus Elchin et divinis attributis Zanchii miscellanda	xiiij s	
Peter Martirs commonplaces in Englishe	vij s	
Calvini Institutiones fol	vj s	
Juels woorkes fol	xviij s	
Lexicon Scapulae	xv s	
Ciceronis opera fol 2obus volum	xx s	
Tindal Frith Barnes: woorks	v s	
defense of the aunswere to the admonition whitgift	iii s	
The works of Sr. Thomas More fol. English	x s	
Some of Sr. Thomas Mores woorks: latine fol.	ij s	
dictionarye frenche and latine	vi s	
ffroisarde chronicle	iiij s	
Tabulae in epistolas p. ad Rom. fol.		iiij d
Terentius Roberti Stephani fol.		viij d
Erithraei tabulae		xviij d
melancths de anima tabulae		vj d
Tragus: herball	ij s	
destructorum viciorum		vi d
fabulij partitiones grammaticae		xij d
Lambertus de monte in Arist: natur: philosoph. fol.	ij s	
Albertus in Arist: de anima		iiij d
Paulus venetus logike	iij s	iiij d
Lesclarisment		xij d
Calvins institutions frenche	iiij s	
Gratulatio Buceri ad ecclesia Anglicana		viij d
Robortellus de arte dicendi		xvi d
In 4°		
Nowel agaynst dorman	ij s	vj d
Epistol: dalmad agaynst Haddon		xij d

[9] The only change which I have made in the listings as they appear in the manuscript is to expand certain of the abbreviations which the appraisers used. I have supplied *m* or *n* when a horizontal stroke above a vowel indicated its omission and I have spelled out the breviographs used for *com*, *per*, *pre*, *pro*, and *us*.

Zanchius ad Ariani libellum		xiiii d
An aunswere to nichols recantation		iiij d
Junius ad testamenti veteris interpretatione		iiii d
de politia et disciplina civili et ecclesiastica		xiiij d
Articuli de religione per Bucerum		viij d
Rodolphi agricolae logi 4°		viij d
Clenardi grammatica graeca 4°	iij s	
Bertrami hebraica grammatica	iij s	
ffoxe agaynst Osorius	iij s	
Gascoignes woorkes	iij s	
Apparatus latinae elocutionis per Rucin		xij d
Treatise of the crosse		xvj d
Strebaei latomi cum reliquis in Cicer partitiones		xvj d
Googes husbandrye		xij d
Mirroure of magistrates		xx d
heresbachius de educandis principum liberis		xiiij d
Thomae aquinatis secunda secundae	ij s	
Ovids metamorphosis English		xx d
Grammatica hebraica: Tremellij et Isaaci	iij s	iiij d
Aeneides virgilij in English		xx d
Olinthiacae demosthenis orat. 3es lat: english 2 vol		xij d
The woorkes of Sr. Davye Lynsaye		xij d
The haven of health		xvj d
ffrancisci philolph. de moribus descriptiva		xx d
Altimari nonnulla opuscula: et ars medis 2 volum	iij s	
Virgills Aeneide scottishe dowglas		vi d
Zanchij fides		xviij d
Scori thesaurus Ciceron 4°		xiiij d
versor in phis Aris.		viii d
Strebaeus de electione et collocatione oratoria		x d
Ramus in Ciceronis orat. consul	ij s	
Courtier Englishe		xvj d

In 8°

Recorde arithmetike		xx d
Resae epistolae		xviij d
Thesaurus pagnini heb:	ij s	
[fol.2v]		
Whitakerus in duraeum		xx d
herebesh periodicae responsiones		x d
Biblia plantini	iij s	iiij d
manutius in epist. Cicer. ad Attic.		xx d
Bullingerus de persecutionibus		viij d
Sturmius in partit orat		xiiij d
Caelius secundus in Cicero brut		viij d
Buchanani chronica	iij s	
Gorshij dialectica		xx d
Chitrei rhetorica		x d
Godescalci husdani de particulis linguae lat.		xiiij d
Erithraeus in orat: per lege manil		iiij d

Sturmius de imitatione orat.		x d
Epitome terrae partium		xij d
Caelius secundus in top. Cic.		xiiij d
Image of both churches		xvj d
Ramus de religione		xvj d
danaeus in Timotheum		xvj d
Erithreus de ratione scribendi epistolas		viij d
Hermogenes de arte oratoria		vj d
Erasmus de preparatione ad mortem		iiij d
melancthon in Romanos		ij d
Gerardus de inventione		iiij d
Gorshius de figuris		xij d
ffortunatiani rhet. lib. 3es		viij d
Bosius in epistolas ad Atticum		iiij d
Ciceronis officia		xij d
Augustini confessiones		iiij d
dodoneus de sphaera		iiij d
Ethica Aris. Strigelij		xx d
Bodine de repub. french	iiij s	
ffritchius meteor		xiiij d
Camerarij epistola familiares		xvj d
machiavelli princeps		xvj d
matagonis de matagonibus		iiij d
ffasciculus remediorum per mollerum		x d
meteorologica Garcaei	ij s	
dion: Chrisostomus de regno	ij s	
Commentarius de quotidiano sermone corderij		x d
Rombletii [*Sic*, perhaps it should be Rondeletii] methodus curand: morborum 2 volum.	ij s	
ffuchsij institutiones medicae		xviij d
Lodovicus Vives de disciplinis		xvj d
Rami grammatica		xvj d
Schola Salernitana		xvj d
Rivius in hesiodum		xiiij d
Cureus de sensibus		xij d
doctrina phisica melancthonis		vj d
Cheynei prima philosophia		xiiij d
Pallingenius in English		xij d
Grammatica Italica		vj d
Athanasius graece et lat:		xiiij d
Eitzen dialectica		xiiij d
bezae confessiones		vj d
prayse of follye		iiij d
Analysis cheynei in phisiologia Arist		iiij d
neobarius de inveniendi argumenti disciplini		iij d
ffransciscus in part: de signis morborum		ij d
Cautij grammatica		iiij d
Summa rhetoricarum preceptiorum		vj d
phrases hebraice	ij s	vj d
Promptuarum linguae latine		xvj d

Elementa linguae hebraice clavij		vj d
Valerij grammatica		viij d
d. wilsons usurye		viij d
phregij rhetorica, logica		iiij d
Arithmetica Clavij		vj d
Arithmetica Tonstalli		x d
Grammatica hebraica Junij		xx d
Grammatica hebraica Junij		xiiij d
Olevianus in evangelia		vj d
Crustij graeca grammatica	ij s	
Aschames schoolemr Toxophilus	iij s	

[fol. 3]

Tussers husbandrye		vj d
Execution of iustice wth others		vj d
Table philosophye		iiij d
marnixi responsion		iiij d
Bredenbachij epistolae 2°		iiij d
Sturmij nobilitas literata wth others		vj d
Johns de concilio etc		iij d
hexemers explicat a wolfango Epitome		iij d
Rhetorike logike English		iij d
Arithmetica Gemmae frisij		vj d
Erithraeus de figuris		vj d
Zenophontis Cyri paediae		vj d
Caelius secundus pro ecclesiae autoritate		iiij d
Ecclesiast Junij		iiij d
Clerke de Aulico		xij d
historia vitis et viri		vj d
dion Cassius cum alijs	ij s	
Sturmius de periodis		viij d
de sacramentis in genera helliop		xx d
poemata bezae		xij d
Hemingij enchiridion		xij d
Beza de repudiis et divortiis		xiiij d
Similitudines bibliae per Lemnium		xij d
Tremellius in Oseam		xij d
monophilo		iiij d
Jo. Leonus de Africa descriptione lib		xiiij d
bunelli epistolae		vj d
Sturmius de universa ratione elocutionis		xvj d
Sturmius in hermogenes 3 volum	iij s	
Caelius secundus de artificio disserendi		iiij d
Ludovici Viv retorica		vj d
Talaei rhetorica		vj d
medulla rhetoriae per Erithreum		iiij d
Benefit of Xth death with others		x d
Confutatio cavillationum per Stephanum winton		vj d
Pilkington on Aggeus		iij d
Comforte in affliction kingsmil		viij d

Comforte agaynst calamityes		vj d
Garcaei collatio veteris et novi testamenti		iiij d
formulae tractandarum concionum per stockes		vj d
Junius in Judam		vj d
Baruch Canephius in french		ij d
hemmingius de lege naturae		vj d
Baij responsion ad quaestiones marnixij		ij d
Ad censuras theologorum paris: R Stephani responsio		ij d
Smetoni responsio ad hammilt		ij d
Albinus in ecclesiasten		ij d
Prince of nature and grace		iiij d
libellus de coniugio per hemmingium		vj d
The burning of paules churche		iiij d
Sillogisticon ffoxi		iij d
bullingerus of religion frenche		iiij d
Resolutis		xiiij d
Bunne and Calvins institutions		iiij d
Tractus Cuneri		viiij d
Casandri dialectica		iiij d
patricij commentarij linguae latinae		vj d
Goswinus wasserleider logica		x d
harmonye of the confessions		xvj d
Logica et rhetorica phregij		viij d
melancthon logike		iiij d
witchcraft [witcraft?] by lever		ij d
Erotemata dialect melancthon per lassium		iiij d
prelectiones Talaei in Rami dialect		iiij d
Simon paulus in epistolas		xx d
danei Ethica 2 volum	2s	4d [*sic*]
danaei phisica 2 volum	j s	iiij d
Javelli epitome Arist phisic		xij d

[fol. 3v]

britannia Camden		xvj d
hooper uppon Jonas		viij d
Collectanea Cognati		vj d
Rivius de stultitia mortalium		iiij d
Courtier french Italian	ij s	
Kemperus in universam artem orat		iiij d
de vita Ciceronis		iiij d
Sturmij classica epistolarum lib		ij d
Civile conversation Guazzo		xiiij d
piers plowman		iiij d
drants sermons		iiij d
hemingius de methodis		iiij d
Sturmij academicae epitolae [*sic*]		ij d
Beza de praedestinatione		vj d
Lensaeus de unica religione		vj d
Ludovici ab Avila de bello germanico		iij d
Comminaeus de rebus gestis lodovici		iiij d
Introductio Toleti		iij d

Censura coloniensis				x d
hooper on the commandements				iij d
Ludovici Vives introductio ad sapientia				iij d
Allen of purgatorye				iij d
In 16°				
Biblia hebraica 7 volum			x s	
Three greeke testaments			iiij s	
ffuchsius de historia stirpium				x d
pindarus 2 volum				xx d
practica medicinalis				x d
the ould fayth				viij d
ffuchsius de medendis morbis				x d
precationes bibliae				viij d
Testament Italian				xij d
Ephemeris historia				vj d
Apologia Juellij				vj d
methode to mortification				x d
bezaes psalmes english				vj d
Institutiones Christianae lib others				ij d
Pharmacorum conficiendorum ratio				ij d
exercyse of true fast				iiij d
Sundrye pictures aboute the studye			iij s	iiij d
A cumpanie of ould bookes wch could not be praysed severallye			v s	
Certayne note paper bookes				xviij d
Certayne booke in velum stitcht in 4° wth others			xij s	
Summa totalis is		xxv li	xiij s	

by me henry mylward stationer
Willm Smalmay Bedle

University of California, Los Angeles MARK H. CURTIS

Peele's *Hunting of Cupid*

THERE appears in the Stationers' Register for 26 July 1591 the following entry:

> Rich[ard] Iones Entred vnto him for his copye vnder thandes of the B[ishop] of London and M^r^ Watkins a booke intituled the Huntinge of Cupid written by George Peele M^r^ of Artes of Oxeford. / Provyded alwayes that yf yt be hurtfull to any other Copye before lycenced, then this to be voyde vj^d^ [1]

from which it has been generally[2] assumed that a *play* by Peele called *The Hunting of Cupid* was licensed. Only E. K. Chambers[3] seems to have expressed any doubt whatsoever about its being a play. Certainly W. W. Greg, who carefully collected the known fragments of *The Hunting of Cupid*, was definitely of the opinion that they represented parts of a 'play of a pastoral or mythological nature', and thought it natural for fragments, the only part of the work extant, to be printed by the Malone Society in close succession to the society's printing of Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*. Throughout Greg's description of the fragments[4] *The Hunting of Cupid* is referred to several times as a play, and the suggestion is put forward that when William Drummond of Hawthornden was making his 'strangely muddled jottings' in his commonplace book, he

[1] W. W. Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama* I (1939), 7.

[2] Cf. *The Workes of George Peele*, ed. Alexander Dyce (London, 1828), II, 171–177; *The Works of George Peele*, ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1888), II, 366–369; *A Collection of Old English Plays*, ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1882–1885), III, 96; W. W. Greg, 'The Hunting of Cupid', *Malone Society Collections* I (1907–1911), 307–314.

[3] 'Probably the play—I suppose it was a play—was printed . . .' (*The Elizabethan Stage*, Oxford, 1923, III, 462).

[4] The fragments listed in Drummond's manuscripts comprise within themselves all the others found elsewhere, viz. 'At Venus intreatie for Cupid her sonne', under the heading of 'Loue' on sig. N of *Englands Parnassus* (1600) ascribed to 'G. Peele'; '*Melampus*, when will Loue be void of feares?', under the heading 'Coridon *and* Melampus *Song*' on sig. E3 of *Englands Helicon* (1600) ascribed to 'Geo. Peele'; 'What thinge is loue?', on f. 13 of Bodleian MS. Rawlinson Poet. 85 (circa 1600) ascribed to 'M^r^ G: Peelle', and the same song sung by Cornelia on sig. A4^v^ of the play of *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* (1600).

was evidently noting down, 'in a very bad hand, any lines or phrases that struck his fancy as he read the play'.

The latest editor[5] of Peele has merely summarized the work done by Dyce, Bullen, and Greg and adds comments about the popularity[6] of the play. So far, therefore, there has been almost unanimous agreement that the fragments are parts of a play by Peele that has been lost.

Greg points out the established fact that *Englands Parnassus* contains extracts *only* from printed sources, and thus it would seem certain that some time between the licensing date 26 July 1591 and the printing of *Englands Parnassus* in 1600 *The Hunting of Cupid* was actually printed. Horne decides that the Stationers' entry indicates an older work and on this basis and on the basis of the similarity of mythological pastoral form which *The Hunting of Cupid* bears with the *Arraignment* suggests that 'Peele would be most interested in this type during his association with the poets and child players, 1581–85'.

There seems no evidence to contradict Greg's suggestion that *The Hunting of Cupid* was actually printed, but I see no reason, from the evidence at our disposal, why we must assume that what was printed was a *play*. Drummond includes *The Hunting of Cupid* in his list of 'Bookes read anno 1609 be me'[7] along with examples of poetical works that are not plays. Some significance may be attached to the fact that throughout the lists[8] of books given by Drummond every mention of a play is qualified with the nature of the play, comedy or tragedy, without exception.[9] This is particularly conspicuous in the list for 1609. I think it is

[5] Cf. *The Life and Minor Works of George Peele*, ed. D. H. Horne (New Haven, 1952).

[6] The popularity is deduced from the number of extracts in printed and manuscript sources.

[7] Cf. F. R. Fogle, *A Critical Study of William Drummond of Hawthornden* (New York, 1952), p. 181.

[8] *Ibid.*, pp. 179–184, covering the years 1606–1614.

[9]

1606
Orlando Furioso, comedie
Romeo and Julieta, tragedie
Loues Labors Lost, comedie
The Malcontent, comedie
A Midsommers Nights Dreame, comedie
Doctor Dodipol, comedie
Alphonsus historie, comed.
The Tragedie of Locrine

1607
Tragedies Senic. Blacridii

1608
Comedies de la Riue
Cinthia, comedia, in Italien

1609
Deux Tragedies de Jodelle
No Body, comedy
Sir Gyles Gooscape, comedie
A Mad World, comedie
The Ile of Gooles, comedie
Liberalitie and Prodigalitie, comedie
Parasitaster, by Marston, comedie

1611
Menstries Workes, 4 Tragedies. Aurora

fairly clear that *The Hunting of Cupid* was not thus qualified because it was a pastoral *poem* like several others which occur in Drummond's lists simply by title, as is the case with *The Hunting of Cupid*. Peele's poem may have had a greater tendency towards dramatization, and in this respect one could easily conceive of it as an entertainment[10] in something like masque form, but this is purely hypothetical. The point that is worth making is that there seems no real justification any longer for styling *The Hunting of Cupid* as a play and linking it with the *Arraignment*.

What is significant, also, is that where extracts of *The Hunting of Cupid* occur outside Drummond's manuscripts they are in every case the most lyrical sections and constitute 'songs'. These are certainly by Peele because they are all assigned to Peele in their different sources[11] by different people. Perhaps to these ought to be added the sections lines 73–77 and 79–92[12] as well as the opening lines which have some coherence about them. The rest seems to me to be odd jottings of Drummond's,[13] single lines and half lines which may or may not represent Drummond's own work or his modification, through faulty memory, of others' works. Greg, for instance, pointed out lines 10–11

> some v^{t} his suethart making false position putting
> a schort sillabe vher a long one should be.

as being 'clearly the origin of Drummond's own epigram "Of Nisa" ', but need we attribute a source to Drummond's epigram here; may not the epigram be Drummond's own? May not a good many of the random jottings serve as Drummond's own comments on whatever material he was dealing with or Drummond's own spontaneous ideas interspersed between recognizable Peele?

Dyce, in printing from Drummond's manuscripts, attempted to show something of the nature of the sections presumably with a view to

[10] Entertainments and masques are not so styled in Drummond's lists; they are merely quoted by title: 1606 Dekkar's part of the Kings Entrance in London; 1609 Thetis Festival, by Daniel.

[11] Had Drummond not included *The Hunting of Cupid* in his list of books read in 1609 we might even have had to question whether the work was printed at all. Drummond could easily have taken the ascribed extracts from *Englands Helicon* and *Englands Parnassus*. Both collections, as well as *Doctor Dodypoll*, are mentioned in Drummond's lists.

[12] All references to the text of *The Hunting of Cupid* are made to Greg's edition for the Malone Society.

[13] It is relevant to point out the tendency for commonplace books to have interspersed comments and random jottings between recognizable quotations.

pointing out dramatic structure. The marginal '+cupid' opposite the fourth line from the end ('Those milkie mounts . . .') is printed in capitals by Dyce, allotted a full stop after it, and made to look like the name of the character intended to speak the lines. More blatant evidence of 'dramatization' forced onto the piece is Dyce's silent insertion in the margin of the word 'Love' in capitals, followed by a full stop, opposite the line 'What thing is loue' as if 'Love' were a character, presumably Venus, speaking these lines. It may be, too, that the capital letters 'Q' and 'R', after both of which Dyce adds a full stop, are part of this dramatization deception; Greg adds a full stop only after the 'Q'. 'Q' and 'R' surely stand only for Question and Reply and not for some hypothetical characters 'Queen' and '?'.

Where Dyce does seem to score, however, over Greg's much more accurate transcript is in his indication, by means of slight indention, of the more lyrical passages that portray some continuity of thought and expression. From Dyce's printing it is easy to see the songs[14] at a glance. It is the songs, above all, that suggest the pastoral element, couched as they are in terms that recall shepherds' dialogues.

One of the songs, 'What thing is love', besides being written down by Drummond and by the anonymous writer of the MS. Rawlinson Poet. 85, was printed in the anonymous play *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*, thereby presenting a very neat problem. Before discussing this, however, it may be well to recognize yet another source of the song which seems to have escaped the attention of all but the late Edmund Fellowes, whose note at the back of his *English Madrigal Verse*[15] has obviously gone unnoticed. John Bartlet included the song as number xiv in his collection

A | Booke | of Ayres | With a Triplicitie of | Musick, | Whereof the First | Part is for the Lute or Orpharion, | and the Viole de Gambo, and 4. Partes | to sing, The second part is for 2. Trebles to sing | to the Lute and Viole, the third part is for | the Lute and one Voyce, and the | Viole de Gambo. | Composde by Iohn Bartlet | Gentleman and

---

[14] '*Melampus*, when will Loue be void of feares?' is designated 'Coridon *and* Melampus *Song*' in *Englands Helicon* (1600), and 'What thing is loue?' is sung by Cornelia in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*, sig. A4^{v}:

Enter Cornelia *sola, looking vpon the picture of* Alberdure *in a little Iewell, and singing. Enter the Doctor and the Merchant following, and hearkning to her.*

The Song.

[15] Oxford, 1920, p. 607. Fellowes refers only to Bullen's edition, apparently unaware of the more desirable, accurate Malone Society edition.

practitioner in this Arte. | London | Printed by Iohn Windet, for Iohn Browne and | are to bee solde at his shoppe in Saint Dun | stones Churchyeard in Fleetstreet. | 1606.[16]

The song 'What thing is love' belongs to the first part of the collection; the text, taken from the treble line and including all the repeats, is as follows:

What thing is loue, what thing is loue I pray thee tel
it is a prickle it is a prickle
it is a sting
it is a prety prety thing
it is a fire it is a coale
whose flame creeps creeps in at euery hole
and as my wits can best deuise,
loues darling lies in Ladies eyes.

The canto is scored on sig. H^{v} to be sung with a lute accompaniment; alto, tenor, and basso voice parts are separately scored on sig. H2, the alto part being printed upside down at the top of the page, the basso following next but printed on its side beginning at the middle of the inner margin and facing the middle of the outer margin, the tenor being given at the foot of the page immediately readable at the opening of the book. With the book opened at sigs. H^{v} and H2 it would be possible for either a singer and a lutenist to attend only to sig. H^{v} and perform the solo song, or for four singers to read and sing from the book at once, the canto sitting at the front left of the table, the tenor at the front right, the alto at the back right, and the basso at the side right.[17]

The music is well worth attention. Fellowes has edited[18] the solo version and has provided a piano accompaniment based on the lute tablature, but has omitted giving the tablature itself. This, I think, would certainly be the version of the song sung in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*. The four-part voice version, however, is fuller and richer and has so far

[16] Only two copies of the book are listed by the *S.T.C.*, one in the British Museum and the other in the Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. Through the kind offices of the Huntington Library, I have been provided with a complete microfilm and granted permission to reproduce any item.

[17]

[18] John Bartlet, *A Booke of Ayres 1606*, ed. E. H. Fellowes (The English School of Lutenist Song Writers, 2 ser., London, 1925), pp. 24–25.

gone unedited. I have endeavored in the transcript[19] accompanying this paper to present the complete song, as envisaged by John Bartlet, for the first time.

This song has elicited far more attention than any other section of *The Hunting of Cupid* already, and to present a rich contemporary musical setting adds even further to its popularity. It seems clear that a second verse is included in Drummond's manuscript beginning 'from vhence do glaunce loues pearcing darts' and ending 'since Mars & sche plaid euē & od'. The version in MS. Rawlinson Poet. 85, f. 13, preserves four lines of this extra verse.[20] I think it is fairly clear from a study of the second stanza in relation to the music that the first stanza should be printed with the repeats as given by Bartlet[21] and not without them as Fellowes prints. It is curious to note that Drummond does not make allowance for the second repeat but does have something which makes up for the first, namely 'for (vel I vot)' instead of 'vhat thing is loue' again. His non-repetition of 'it is a pricke' is probably a slip.[22] From this consideration, therefore, it would seem that the only repetition in the first stanza which we can safely attribute to the musician is of the word 'creeps' in line 5.[23]

The first stanza alone is given in Bartlet's *Ayres* and in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*. The inclusion of this lyric in the play presents an interesting problem. Fleay[24] was led by its inclusion to suggest that *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* was written by Peele.[25] His hypothesis received no support for two main reasons summed up by E. K. Chambers.[26] The inclusion of a song by Peele was not considered weighty enough evi-

[19] I have scrupulously followed the original text of the song, adhering faithfully to the excellent precedent set by Fellowes. In a few respects, however, I have differed, not allowing myself the liberty of suggesting tempos or expressions, and I give the lute tablature valuation exactly as it is, not filling it out to even the bar measure.

[20] From whence he shootes his dayntye dartes
In to the lusty gallunts hartes.
And euer since was callde a god
That Mars withe Venus playde euen and odd,
Finis M^{r} G: Peelle.

[21] The second verse fits the musical setting admirably provided no word phrase is repeated as are 'What thing is loue' and 'it is a prickle' in the first. The concluding couplet makes a splendid finish to the whole song.

[22] The version in MS. Rawlinson Poet. 85 is without repeats and just so does it omit lines.

[23] This represents an effective use of the musician's license.

[24] F. G. Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama* (London, 1891), II, 155.

[25] Dyce's and Bullen's editions of *The Hunting of Cupid* were available.

[26] *Op. cit.*, IV, 54.

dence to prove anything other than the obvious fact that a song by Peele was printed (and presumably sung) in the play *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* published in 1600 with no author's name on the title page. The second objection arose from the observation, first put forward by Koeppel[27] and since taken over by Dover Wilson[28] and Herford & Simpson,[29] that a line in the play is a direct echo of a line in *Julius Caesar*, 1599, and since Peele died in 1596, the play *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* cannot possibly be his.

The first objection is based on the general belief that dramatists had no compunction about using other poets' songs in their plays and that they did this frequently. It is all part of the belief that the songs were 'extra' material to a play, could be supplied from sources exterior to the play itself, and were not an intrinsic part of the drama as a whole as conceived by the dramatist. This theory can no longer be held by any serious student of the use of song, masque, and music in drama. Pioneer investigations[30] into this field of dramatic song went unnoticed for the most part, possibly because of their tendency to be too sporadic and to treat only certain aspects, and because, too, of the fact that even the most renowned scholars of Elizabethan drama adopt an altogether unscholarly attitude to the use of music. Scholars have been content to consider every other detail appertaining to drama but what concerned music and its dramatic function. Bowden[31] has made an attempt at a comprehensive study of the use of song for dramatic purposes, and within the limitations of his scope he has shown convincingly that songs were overwhelmingly *part* of the dramatic scheme, were not extraneous to the drama's action, thought, and presentation, but were woven into the play's very fabric. For some years now I have been building up a catalogue of songs[32] used

[27] E. Koeppel, 'Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* und die Entstehungszeit des anonymen Dramas *The Wisdome of Doctor Dodypoll*', *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* XLIII (1907), 210.

[28] 'Ben Jonson and *Julius Caesar*', *Shakespeare Survey* II (1949), 36–43.

[29] *Ben Jonson*, ed. C. H. Herford & P. Simpson (Oxford, 1925–1952), IX, 450.

[30] Cf. E. B. Reed, *Songs from the British Drama* (New Haven, 1925); J. R. Moore, 'The Songs of the Public Theaters in the Time of Shakespeare', *J.E.G.P.* XXVIII (1929), 166–202; J. T. McCullen, 'The Functions of Songs Aroused by Madness in Elizabethan Drama', *A Tribute to George Coffin Taylor* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1952), pp. 184–196.

[31] W. R. Bowden, *The English Dramatic Lyric 1603–1642* (New Haven, 1951). The shortcomings of Bowden's work are pointed out by the present writer in 'Some Jacobean and Caroline Dramatic Lyrics', *Notes & Queries* n.s. II (1955), 106–109.

[32] The music of the songs is also being assembled from music manuscripts scattered far afield, consulted personally where possible or by microfilm. In this latter respect I have been heavily indebted to the kindness of Professor Allardyce Nicoll, head of the Shakespeare Institute, Stratford-upon-Avon.

in English drama from its earliest beginnings until the closing of the theaters in 1642, and the conclusion forces itself on the attention that cases in which one dramatist employs another poet's lyric with no other purpose than pure annexation are so exceptional as to be good proof of the rule. In these cases the printing of another poet's lyric is often purely and simply due to the mistake of the printer, who, willing to supply the 'blank' songs, errs in his exact location of them, and in these cases the songs are often appended, *not* printed in their correct place in the text.[33]

We ought, therefore, to have no compunction about *entertaining* the idea that Peele's lyric was used in *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* because Peele also wrote the play. Certainly we cannot dismiss Fleay's suggestion offhand.

The second objection arises from the use in the play of the line

> Then reason's fled to animals I see[34]

which is termed by Koeppel an echo of the following lines from *Julius Caesar* (III.ii.114–115):

> O Iudgement! thou art fled to brutish Beasts,
> And Men haue lost their Reason.

This echo means nothing more for me than an echo of an Elizabethan commonplace, the distinction between men and animals, most familiar to us, perhaps, in Hamlet's words:

> O God! a beast, that wants discourse of reason (I.ii.150).

Koeppel notices that Jonson has similar words in *Every Man out of His Humour* (III.iv.32–33):

> Then comming to the pretty *Animall*, as
> *Reason long since is fled to animals*,

and hints, but does not go further than this, that Jonson's lines stem also

[33] The case always cited is Blount's printing of twenty-one songs in his edition of Lyly's plays in 1632, songs which had been missing from the quarto editions of these plays. Scholars have argued about the authenticity of these lyrics (cf. Bowden, *op. cit.*, p. 105). Until it can be definitely proved that the lyrics are authentic or not, we can at least be grateful that Blount made an attempt to trace the originals and that the ones he printed do *seem* to fit the context. Webster disclaimed 'Armes, and Honors, decke thy story' (*The Duchesse of Malfy* III.iv) as being his, which was quite unnecessary unless the dramatist usually included only his own songs. The tendency to use another's lyric is late Caroline. Two of Suckling's lyrics from *The Goblins* (1637–1640) were utilized by Samuel Sheppard in *The Committee-man Curried* (1644), viz. 'A health to the nut-brown lass' (sig. B2) and 'Some drink! . . . ' (sig. B^{v}).

[34] Sig. E (ed. J. S. Farmer, *Tudor Facsimile Texts*, 1912).

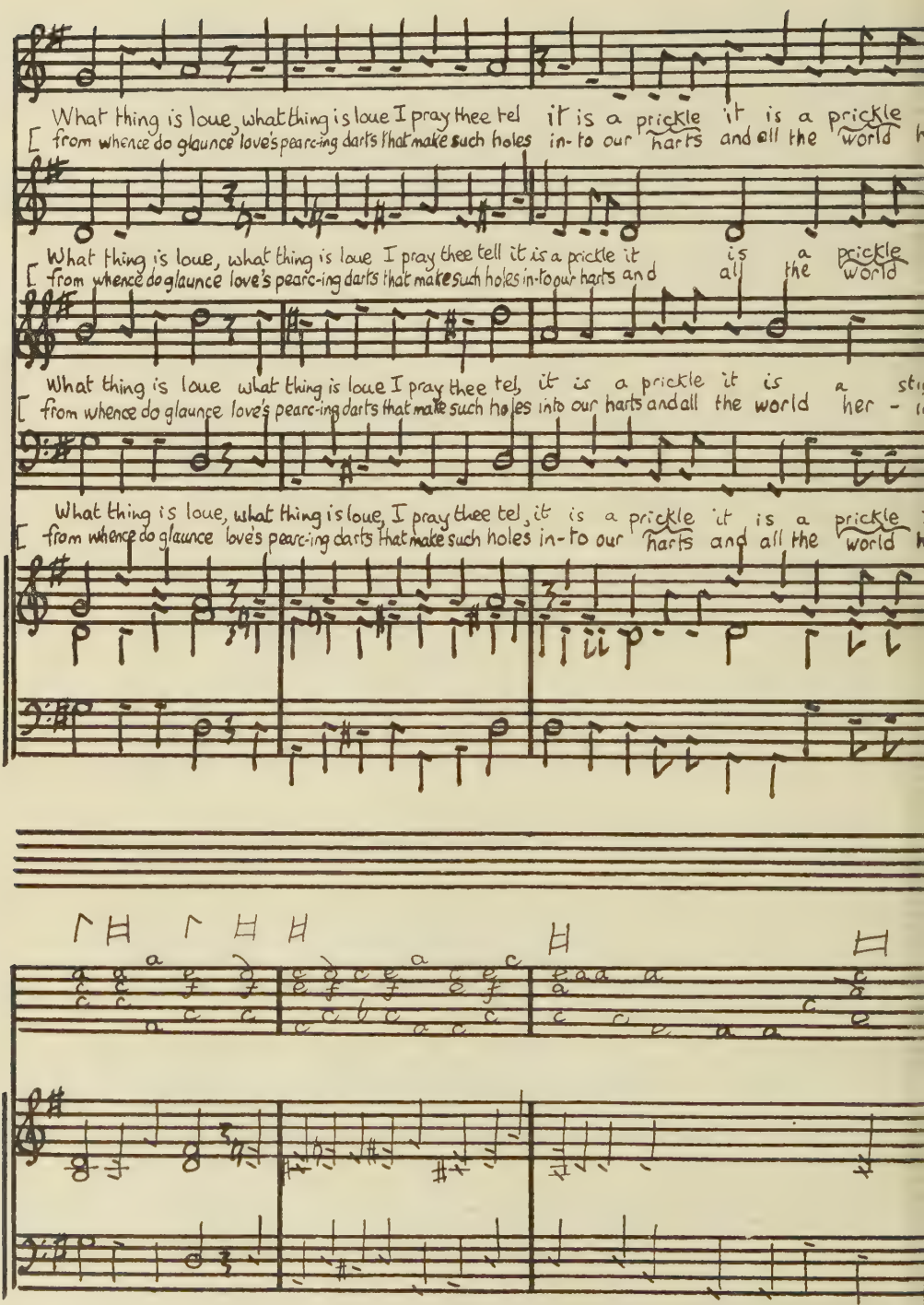
from Shakespeare's. Herford and Simpson merely restate Koeppel's case without judgment. Dover Wilson takes over Koeppel's point but turns it to the effect that *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* is echoing Jonson, not Shakespeare. The three quotations taken side by side in conjunction with that from *Hamlet* are interesting exempla of the familiar Elizabethan idea, but need they be anything more? Scholars have grown more and more aware of the danger of reading too much into supposed echoes, especially since valuable studies such as Tilley's *Proverbs*[35] have made us realize how commonplace so many ideas were in roughly the same words. A complete review of *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* is necessary, and only one thoroughly familiar with all Peele's acknowledged works is really in a position to do this. He alone can say whether the play is Peele's or not.

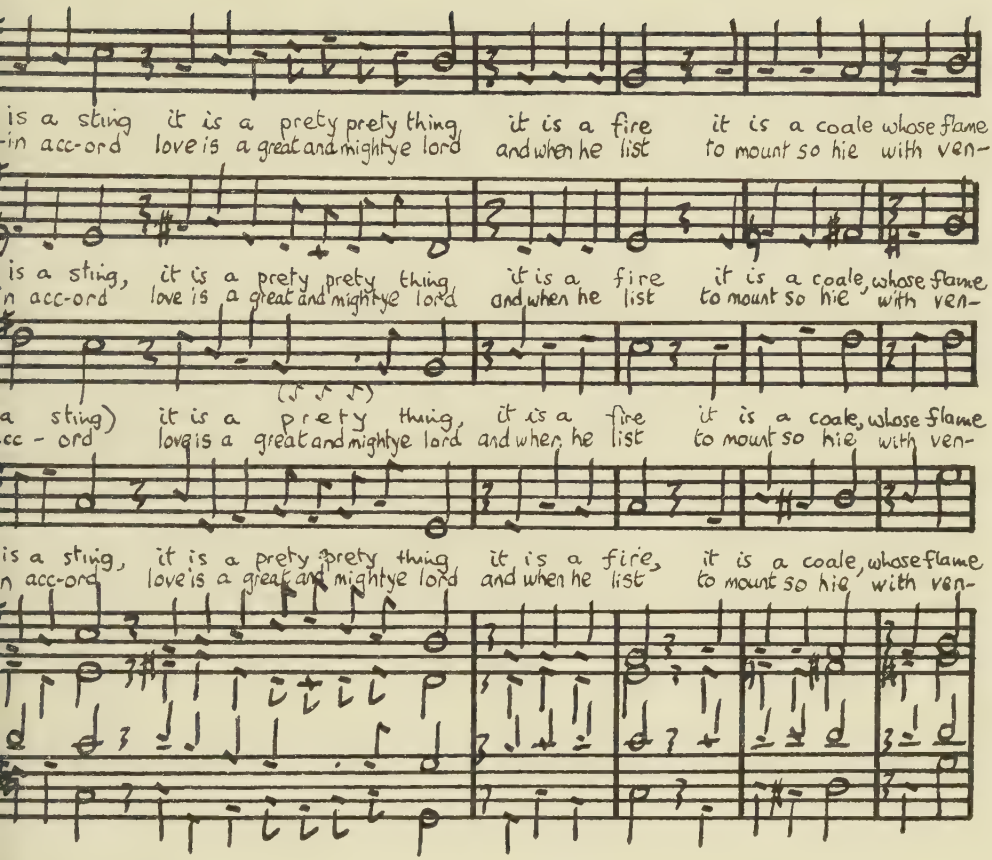
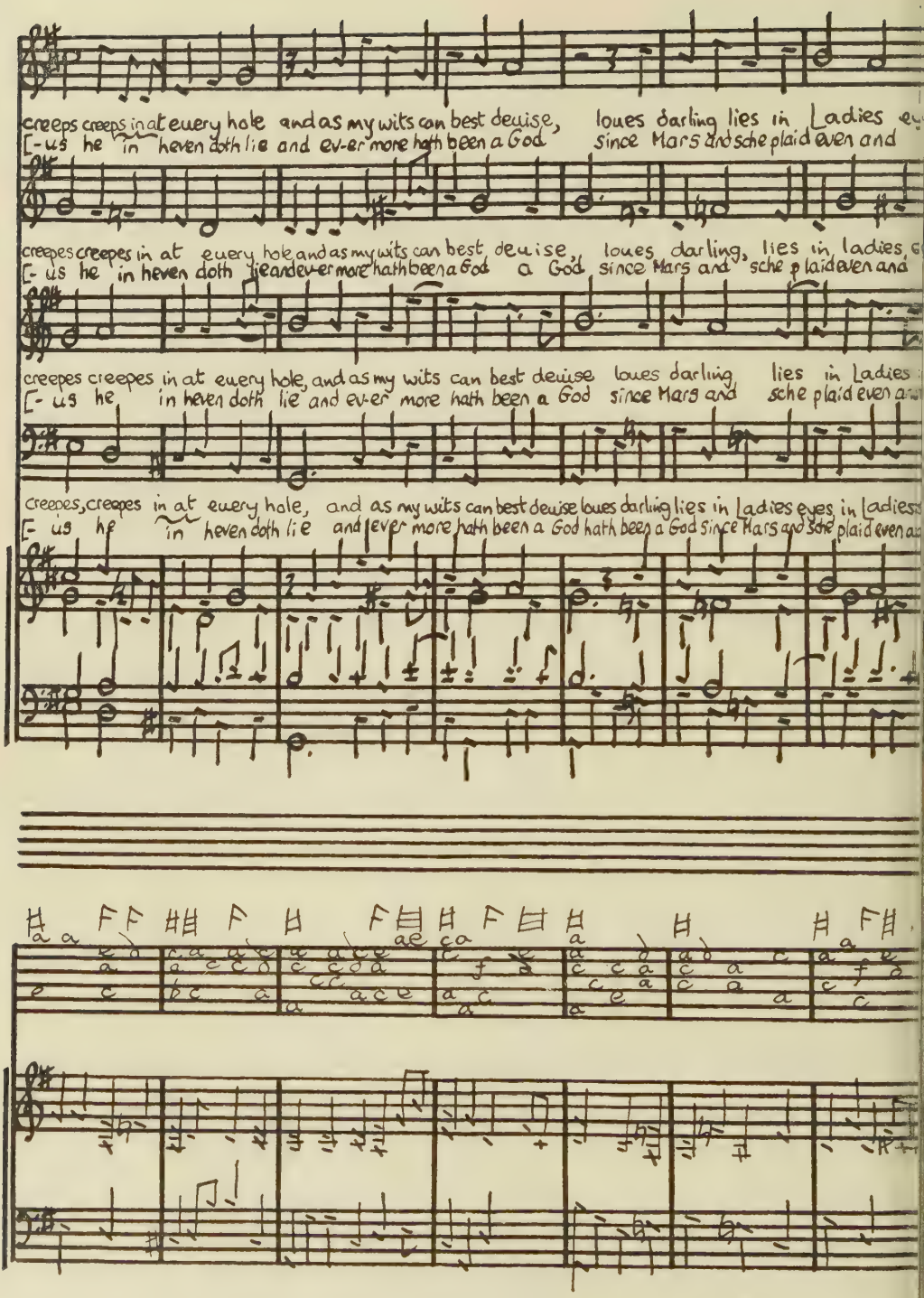
If the arguments presented in this paper be in any way acceptable, then the logical results are twofold. Involved in the first place is the discarding of a 'lost' play from the Peele canon and its reinstatement as a pastoral poem of which various interesting fragments have survived in manuscript and printed sources, one of the fragments having received a delightful contemporary musical setting which is now presented for the first time in its entirety. In the second place, a complete reinvestigation is called for of the anonymous play *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll* which was first attributed to Peele on then unacceptable evidence and was subsequently denied to Peele on evidence that now seems equally unacceptable.

University of Missouri JOHN P. CUTTS

[35] M. P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950).

What thing is loue


What thing is loue, what thing is loue I pray thee tel it is a prickle it is a prickle
from whence do glaunce loue's pearc-ing darts that make such holes in-to our harts and all the world
What thing is loue, what thing is loue I pray thee tell it is a prickle it is a prickle
from whence do glaunce loue's pearc-ing darts that make such holes in-to our harts and all the world
What thing is loue what thing is loue I pray thee tel, it is a prickle it is a
from whence do glaunce loue's pearc-ing darts that make such holes into our harts and all the world
What thing is loue, what thing is loue, I pray thee tel, it is a prickle it is a prickle
from whence do glaunce loue's pearc-ing darts that make such holes in-to our harts and all the world


is a sting it is a prety prety thing it is a fire it is a coale whose flame
-in acc-ord love is a great and mightye lord and when he list to mount so hie with ven-
is a sting, it is a prety prety thing it is a fire it is a coale, whose flame
n acc-ord love is a great and mightye lord and when he list to mount so hie with ven-
a sting) it is a prety thing, it is a fire it is a coale, whose flame
cc - ord love is a great and mightye lord and when he list to mount so hie with ven-
is a sting, it is a prety prety thing it is a fire, it is a coale, whose flame
n acc-ord love is a great and mightye lord and when he list to mount so hie with ven-

creeps creeps in at euery hole and as my wits can best deuise, loues darling lies in Ladies e
[-us he in heven doth lie and ev-er more hath been a God since Mars and sche plaid even and
creepes creepes in at euery hole and as my wits can best deuise, loues darling, lies in ladies, e
[-us he in heven doth lie and ev-er more hath been a God a God since Mars and sche plaid even and
creepes creepes in at euery hole, and as my wits can best deuise loues darling lies in Ladies
[-us he in heven doth lie and ev-er more hath been a God since Mars and sche plaid even a
creepes, creepes in at euery hole, and as my wits can best deuise loues darling lies in Ladies eyes in Ladies
[-us he in heven doth lie and ever more hath been a God hath been a God since Mars and sche plaid even a

Vicente Espinel as a Musician

THE recent publication of *Diversas rimas* by Vicente Espinel, based on the unique edition prepared by the poet himself and published in 1591, should rekindle interest in one of the most versatile talents and celebrated personalities of the late Renaissance in Spain.[1] An Andalusian by birth—he was born in Ronda in 1550—Espinel displayed abundantly the ardent temperament and innate artistic gifts so frequent in the natives of this warm and sensuous yet strangely mysterious and ancient land. Furthermore a keen intellect directed these natural talents to make of him in his mature years one of the most respected critics as well as one of the most admired poets and musicians of his day.

Espinel displayed his literary bent and musical abilities at an early age. Desirous that his early promise should be effectively cultivated, his father sent him to study at the University of Salamanca. During four somewhat interrupted years of study at the university (1570–1574) Espinel made acquaintance and formed lifelong friendships not only with many of the most talented poets, men of letters, and musicians of his day but also with members of the most distinguished families in Spain. Obviously his personality and wit, as well as his poetic gifts and perhaps especially his talent as a musician, won him friends and generous patrons. In 1574 he travelled extensively throughout northern Spain visiting his friends and spending some time as a squire in the household of the Count of Lemos in Valladolid. There followed a turbulent year in Seville where he sowed wild oats abundantly in disappointment over his unrequited love for Antonia Maldonado y Calatayud, the Célida of the love poems and the only passion of his life. On the advice of friends Espinel sought to regain his equilibrium by travel. He participated briefly in the Spanish

[1] *Diversas rimas*, ed. Dorothy Clotelle Clarke (New York, 1956, Hispanic Institute in the United States).

campaigns in Flanders in 1578 and travelled for three years in northern Italy, where he enjoyed the hospitality and protection of various Spanish noblemen and especially that of Octavio Gonzaga and his wife Sicilia dei Medici. In 1584 he was again in Spain. He returned to his native Ronda where he hoped to settle down as chaplain of a foundation earlier established by relatives in his behalf. He soon became bored with this narrow existence in a small provincial town among rustic folk who misunderstood and disliked him. He occupied a benefice at Málaga, also unsuccessfully, and then went to Granada, where he obtained the degree of bachelor of arts. During this period he collected his poems and submitted them, in 1587, to the criticism of Alonso de Ercilla, who praised them highly. In Granada he obtained two ecclesiastical benefices 'thanks to his degree in arts, his learning in Latin and counterpoint and his skill in singing both plainsong and polyphonic music.' In 1591 he again obtained a benefice in Málaga, but he never actually filled it because he preferred to enjoy the more stimulating life of Madrid. His neglect of his duties aroused the anger of the townsfolk, but thanks to his powerful friends Espinel enjoyed the benefice, even if precariously, until 1598. In 1599 he established himself permanently in Madrid. He obtained the degree of master of arts at the University of Alcalá in that year and was then appointed chaplain and master of the chapel of the bishop of Plasencia in Madrid. These posts he held until his death in 1624. During these years he exercised considerable influence as a critic of poetry and of music and occupied a place of importance in artistic and literary circles. In 1618 he achieved his greatest renown with the publication of his novel, *Vida del escudero Marcos de Obregón*.

As a poet and critic of poetry Espinel displayed a sensitive ear and a keen perception of the subtleties of the poet's craft. These same qualities evidently also distinguished him as a musician. It is worth while to examine for a moment Espinel's rôle in the history of Spanish music and his relations with contemporary musicians. This aspect of his career, so far little studied, offers interesting information regarding music and musical activities at this time in Spain.

In his day Espinel had a reputation as a performer and composer and to him was popularly attributed the addition of a fifth string to the guitar. This evidence of original inventiveness is repeatedly referred to by Lope de Vega. Other contemporaries including Cervantes also mention it. Although in reality incorrect, this idea persisted and is still repeated. The Portuguese guitarist, Nicolas Doizi de Velasco, who gave lessons on

the guitar to Philip IV, states in his *Nuevo modo de cifras para tañer la guitarra con variedad y perfección* (Naples, 1645) that in Madrid he knew Espinel 'who added the fifth string to the guitar, making it thus as perfect an instrument as the organ, clavichord, harp, lute, or theorbo and with even more capabilities than these instruments'.[2] Later, Gaspar Sanz in his celebrated *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española* (Saragossa, 1674) likewise mentions Espinel as having added the fifth string to the guitar. It is curious to note, however, that the earliest 'method' for playing the five-stringed guitar, the 'guitarra española', makes no mention of Espinel. This is the treatise by a certain Doctor Juan Carlos Amat entitled *Guitarra española de cinco órdenes* etc., published in Barcelona in 1596.[3]

In point of fact a guitar with five strings is discussed by Juan Bermudo in his *Declaración de Instrumentos* published in 1549. The question as to just what part Espinel played in the development of this instrument brings up the confusing and much misunderstood matter of the *vihuela* and its relationship to the guitar and their respective characteristics. In the passage in *La Dorotea* in which Lope mentions Espinel's addition of the fifth string he calls the instrument the guitar while in the passage in the *Laurel de Apolo* he calls it *vihuela*. In other words, by the end of the sixteenth century the two terms were used interchangeably. In the first half of the century and earlier, however, the terms *vihuela* and *guitarra* usually referred to two different types of the same instrument. Each was designed for the performance of a different kind of music.

As Adolfo Salazar has shown,[4] there is evidence that as early as the seventies and eighties of the fifteenth century the *viola da mano* was used in Italy. This is the instrument to which Castiglione refers in *Il Cortigiano* (1528) as that used to accompany solo singing ('il cantare a la viola'). In the early sixteenth century it attained a great vogue in Spain under the Spanish form of the word, namely, *vihuela*. The instrument was shaped like a large guitar to accommodate six (sometimes seven) courses, or double gut strings, sounding in unison, and ten (or eleven) frets. It had the resources, consequently, for the performance of contrapuntal music and so became in Spain the instrument used for the performance of lute music. In comparison to the lute it had the advantage of being

[2] Quoted from José Navas, 'Vicente Espinel, Músico', *Gibralfaro*, II (1952), 151–154.

[3] See the extended discussion of the treatises of Amat and Gaspar Sanz in Adolfo Salazar, 'Música, Instrumentos y Danzas en las Obras de Cervantes', *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica* II (1948), 144–158, notes XIX and XX.

[4] Adolfo Salazar, *ibid.*, pp. 28–38; *La Música en la sociedad europea* I (Mexico, 1942), Cuarta Parte, Cap. I, pp. 365–405.

stronger and more durable because of its flat back of a single piece of wood, in contrast to the rounded back of the lute with its many narrow strips of wood glued together. The *vihuela* was tuned in fourths with a third in the middle: g – c′ – f′ – a′ – d″ – g″ or, less frequently, a – d′ – g′ b′ e″ – a″. This was the aristocratic and artistic instrument of the day, designed for the solo performance of instrumental pieces essentially contrapuntal in texture. It was likewise the instrument constantly used both in Spain and Italy for the accompaniment of the solo voice. Furthermore, the *vihuela*, like the lute, because of its particular characteristics and resources in sonority, was an important factor in the development of the specifically instrumental styles and forms which began in the sixteenth century. Although the literature for the instrument in this period is considerable, it represents only a part of the activity in composition and experimentation which was then taking place. Performers on the instrument were likewise composers and developed their ideas in improvisation, and undoubtedly much of the most attractive music for the instrument was never written down.

Beside this artistic and versatile instrument which required a high degree of technical skill in the performer there existed the four-stringed guitar in the hands of the popular musician and the folk. An instrument of much simpler and cheaper construction than the *vihuela*, it was appropriate for the performance of similarly simple and unassuming music. In Bermudo's treatise the tuning is given as: c′ – f′ – a′ – d″. The strings were not plucked as on the lute and *vihuela* but strummed to produce simple chords for the accompaniment of singing and dancing.

In the semi-autobiographical *Marcos de Obregón* which, although written at the end of his life, describes the events of his early manhood in the seventies and eighties of the sixteenth century, Espinel introduces a number of musical scenes in which the guitar or *vihuela* is played. Generally speaking, he distinguishes between the circumstances in which the two instruments are performed. He uses the term *vihuela* when describing the music he heard in aristocratic and artistic circles and *guitarra* when he describes popular scenes. Nevertheless, it was in the course of the second half of the century that a change in musical style was taking place which resulted in the decline of the lute and *vihuela*. The earlier contrapuntal style based on polyphonic vocal music was giving way to an essentially instrumental style to which the peculiar characteristics of these instruments themselves had greatly contributed. With the development of a style based to a large extent on chordal structure with a consequent

emphasis on the bass region, an accommodation took place between the *vihuela* and the four-stringed guitar. This change is already foreshadowed in the collection for the *vihuela* entitled *Orphénica lyra* (Seville, 1554) by Miguel de Fuenllana which included, in addition to contrapuntal pieces adapted from polyphonic vocal music, fantasies composed by the author for the 'vihuela of five courses together with fantasies and other music composed for vihuela of four courses which is called guitar'. Furthermore, an episode in the *Marcos de Obregón* suggests that this change was indeed in process of development, as we shall see.

By the end of the century, therefore, a new instrument, better adapted to the needs of a new style, was in use. It was called the 'Spanish guitar' and acquired a widespread vogue throughout Europe in the seventeenth century. At first the instrument was tuned g – c′ – f′ – a′ – d″, in other words it was tuned like the old, popular four-stringed guitar with the addition of a lower string. Thus it was currently said that a lower string had been added to the older instrument. However, as Adolfo Salazar in his illuminating and wide-ranging study, 'Música, instrumentos y danzas en las obras de Cervantes',[5] perhaps more accurately says, the 'Spanish guitar' came about as a more practical instrument for the new musical style through the suppression of the very fragile and no longer so necessary highest string of the *vihuela*. After all, Bermudo had said if you wish to make a *vihuela* of a guitar add a sixth and a first (string), in other words a lower string and a higher one to the original four. Now it appears that in Espinel's time the tuning of the *vihuela* was more frequently the higher a – d′ – g′ – b′ – e″ – a″ . With this tuning the highest string was harder to tune accurately and its tension caused it to break easily. Eliminating this string left an instrument of really satisfactory capabilities. It may be, indeed, that Espinel advocated and used the new instrument with this tuning. He may also have cultivated a predominantly chordal style which gave new prominence to the bass region. Thus with his prestige as a musician and his reputation as a performer he contributed to the vogue of the instrument and was popularly thought to have invented it.

We know from Espinel's writings that his musical education began in his boyhood. He was sufficiently well trained and talented to give singing lessons in Salamanca to eke out his modest scholarship at the university. There he knew and may have studied under Francisco Salinas, the important musical theorist, who was then professor at the university and organist at the cathedral. Espinel on several occasions praised the rare

[5] Salazar, article cited above, p. 37.

musical gifts of the man whom Fray Luis de León immortalized in his famous ode beginning:

> El aire se serena
> Y viste de hermosura y luz no usada,
> Salinas, cuando suena la música estremada
> por vuestra sabia mano gobernada.

That music played an important part in Espinel's life during his student days we gather from the nostalgic final stanzas of *La casa de la memoria* in which he recalls the skill and the fine voices of the ladies and gentlemen who played and sang at the musical gatherings in the house of Doña Antonia de Torres, a celebrated patroness of music and poetry in Salamanca. Later, Espinel's talents as a guitarist and singer as well as his reputation as a poet made him a welcome guest at the princely courts and great houses in Italy where he was entertained during his years as a soldier and traveler. These years of contact with the brilliant musical life of Italy must have greatly developed his musical skill and knowledge. In a famous passage in the *Marcos de Obregón* Espinel describes with obvious enthusiasm a typical musical scene of the time at the house of the Spanish magistrate in Milan, Don Antonio de Londoña. There he heard music performed by consorts of viols and admired the virtuosity of a performer on the *vihuela* of seven courses. In his later years in Madrid during the period of his greatest prestige and influence Espinel's critical opinion was sought not only as a poet but as a learned musician. His critical estimate appears as introduction to many a new musical work by a contemporary composer.

In *La casa de la memoria* Espinel records the names and praises the special talents of the musicians and composers of his day whom he held in highest esteem. They were evidently men whom he had known personally and for the most part were Andalusians like himself. Curiously enough, Espinel does not mention the greatest Spanish composer of his time, Tomás Luís de Victoria (*ca.* 1550–1611). To be sure Victoria was active in Rome at the time Espinel wrote the poem, and while much admired there as one of the greatest composers of the day, he was little known in Spain. The first name Espinel records is that of Francisco Guerrero (1528–1599), the great leader of the Andalusian school, and the most talented composer in Spain, second only to Victoria. During most of his career Guerrero was master of the chapel of the Cathedral of Seville, where Espinel undoubtedly knew him. He praises Guerrero's consummate skill and learning as a contrapuntist and his art as a singer. With Guerrero Espinel places Juan Navarro (1525–1580). These two he

calls his masters and the masters of all musicians. Navarro was choirmaster at the Cathedral of Salamanca when Salinas was organist. In the *Marcos de Obregón* Espinel praises his gifts second to none as a singer and choral director. It is possible that Espinel studied with Navarro and even sang under him in the choir during his student days. He emphasizes Navarro's exceptional natural talent as a composer quite apart from his musical learning.

The judgment of history has confirmed Espinel's estimate of these two men. Unfortunately their works are today relatively inaccessible and little known. Spain has been notoriously neglectful of her great composers. However, it will soon be possible to study the entire production of Francisco Guerrero. The first volume of his *Opera omnia*, 'Canciones y villanescas espirituales. Primera parte', was published in 1955 in the series of *Monumentos de la música Española* by the Instituto Español de Musicología under the editorship of Dr. Miguel Querol. Madrigals by both Guerrero and Navarro may be found in the edition, also by Dr. Querol, of a sixteenth-century manuscript under the title *Cancionero musical de la casa de Medinaceli* (1949).

As a composer of lesser talent than his two great masters, Espinel then mentions Rodrigo de Ceballos (*ca.* 1530–after 1572). Also a composer of the Andalusian school, Ceballos was master of the Royal Chapel at Granada. His sacred compositions are almost entirely lost, but a few of his madrigals may be studied in the above-mentioned *Cancionero*.

Espinel also praises as composers of talent Rodrigo Ordóñez and Gabriel Gálvez. Today their names are known only as musicians who unsuccessfully competed in 1554 for the post of master of the chapel at the Cathedral of Málaga when it was awarded to Ceballos. Espinel also recalls the originality of the style of Ginés de Voluda. Voluda, a native of Cartagena, became master of the chapel of the Cathedral of Toledo in 1581. Of his works we know practically nothing, but he is a witness to the importance attached to the musical production of Ceballos in his own day, for he is known to have purchased, in the name of the cathedral chapter, a volume containing motets and masses and another of psalms, hymns, and magnificats by Ceballos.

Following this enumeration of celebrated composers Espinel recalls the famous organists of his time. First he mentions 'the great Cabezón'. It is difficult to know whether he refers here to Antonio de Cabezón (*ca.* 1510–1566), organist to Charles V and Philip II and one of the most original composers of keyboard music of the century, or to his own contemporary Hernando (died 1602), Antonio's son who succeeded his

father as organist at the court. The poet then mentions Francisco de Peraza (1564–1598), a native of Salamanca and organist at the Cathedral of Seville at eighteen. Although he died at thirty-four, he was famed for his playing and especially praised by Guerrero and Philip Rogier, master of the Flemish Chapel of Philip II. Then Espinel mentions 'the divine Salinas' and Diego del Castillo, whose skill on the keyboard, especially with the left hand, he praises. From documents among the royal accounts preserved in the Archives of the Royal Palace in Madrid we learn that Castillo became organist of the chapel of Philip II 1 October 1583, succeeding to the post vacated by the death of Cipriano de Soto. Castillo continued there until his death 11 May 1601.[6] He was thus a colleague and friend of Hernando de Cabezón, whose will he witnessed in 1598. These men Espinel must have known well during his years in Madrid.

From this roster we conclude that Espinel was well acquainted with the most celebrated musicians in the Spain of his day and with their musical production. It has been questioned whether he was himself a composer as well as a performer and critic. So far no composition by Espinel has been identified. However, Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa in his *Plaza universal de todas las ciencias* (1615) calls him 'autor de sonadas y cantar de sala'. Furthermore, in the accounts of the household of the bishop of Plasencia in Madrid, for whom Espinel was chaplain and master of the chapel from 1599 until his death in 1624, there is mention of a payment of three reales for paper given to 'Maestro Espinel' for some *villancicos*.[7] It seems likely that this refers to *villancicos* composed by the musician. At the time it was customary for the master of the chapel to compose special *villancicos* for the celebration of certain feast days.

Yet the most interesting evidence to support the belief that Espinel was a composer is to be found in his own writings.

In Descanso XIV of Relación II of the *Marcos de Obregón*, Espinel relates the rescue of his hero after his long captivity by the Turks. He is taken aboard a Venetian ship commanded by Marcello Doria which is on its way to Genoa. There follows an episode which throws interesting light on musical performance at the period and on Espinel as a composer.

> As we were proceeding toward Genoa the general [Doria] commanded the musicians to sing, and taking up their guitars the first piece which they sang was my *octavas* which go thus:
>
> El bien dudoso, el mal seguro y cierto

[6] Madrid, Palacio Real, Archivo Real, Legajo c35, documents relating to Diego del Castillo.

[7] *El escudero Marcos de Obregón* (Madrid, 1881). Quoted from the biography of Espinel by Juan Pérez de Guzmán in the edition.

The treble, who was called Francisco de la Peña, began to perform florid vocal passages (excelentísimos pasajes de garganta) for which, since the *sonata* was in a slow tempo, there was plenty of time—while I punctuated each phrase with a sigh. They sang all the *octavas* and at the last verse which said:

El bien dudoso, el mal seguro y cierto

I could no longer contain myself, and with a thoughtless, impulsive movement, exclaimed: 'This misfortune still pursues me!' Peña looked up on hearing me. He had not recognized me before as he was near-sighted and I so disguised in appearance and dress. On recognizing me, speechless and with tears in his eyes, he embraced me and turned to the general, saying: 'Your excellency, whom do you think we have here?'—'Who?' asked the general. Peña replied, 'the author of these verses and this *sonata* which we have sung for your excellency.'—'What's this? Call him hither.'—I approached somewhat shamefaced but a little heartened and the general asked me: 'What is your name?'—'Marcos de Obregón', I replied. Peña, always a truthful man, said to the general: 'So and So [meaning of course Vicente Espinel] is his true name, but he is concealing it because of his unfortunate situation.'

Thus we learn on his own authority that Espinel was indeed a composer. The *octavas*, one verse of which he quotes here, do not appear in *Diversas rimas*. They may perhaps be preserved among the poems which he is known to have left in manuscript.[8] The music, unfortunately, so far as is known, no longer exists. This is an exception to Espinel's usual practice of referring to the *vihuela* as the instrument of artistic and learned music in contrast to the guitar as the popular and folk instrument. Apparently two guitars were used in this scene and perhaps in the rough and ready life aboard ship guitars were more practical than the more delicate *vihuela*. On the other hand, we may perhaps see here a reference to the five-stringed 'Spanish guitar' which Espinel by repute invented.

Yet another musical episode related in the *Marcos de Obregón* proves that the poet was indeed a composer.

In Descanso v of Relación Tercera, after the description alluded to above of the musical gatherings at the house of Don Antonio de Londoña in Milan, there follows an even more interesting and extended passage describing the music and conversation about music to be heard at the home of 'Maestro Bernardo Clavijo'. Bernardo Clavijo del Castillo was a well-known Spanish composer, organist, and clavichordist. He was then living in Milan with his daughter, Bernardina, equally famed for her skill as a harpist and a singer. Later on Clavijo became organist at the viceregal court of Naples and from 1594–1604 he was professor of music at Salamanca. In 1603, as we learn from the Royal Archives in

[8] I have not been able to see the article by Juan Pérez de Guzmán, 'Cancionero inédito de Espinel', *La Illustración Española y Americana*, XXVII (1883), 134–135, 159–162, 178, which is listed in the bibliography of the edition of *Diversas rimas* cited above.

Madrid,[9] he was appointed organist in the chapel of Philip III, succeeding to the post left vacant by the death of Hernando de Cabezón. From these same records we learn that his duties included giving organ lessons to apt choir boys 'so that there might be pupils trained by him to serve his majesty in this capacity'. The records also show that Clavijo continued as organist until his death in 1626. He and Espinel undoubtedly renewed their acquaintance during their years in Madrid.

To return, however, to Espinel's account in the *Marcos de Obregón* of the delightful hours devoted to performing and hearing music at the gatherings organized by Maestro Clavijo and his daughter. He tells how one day, after they had finished singing and playing, one of the company asked why it was that music no longer had the miraculous effect that it had in ancient times—when it could arouse the emotions of the listener to such a pitch as to cause him to imagine himself the protagonist of the episode depicted in a musical composition. Espinel—or his alter ego Marcos—replied that the same miracle could still occur and did indeed occur every day in the case of the 'Spanish *sonatas* which have so divine an air and such great originality'.

He goes on to say that, to effect the miracle, the proper conditions must however obtain, and these he proceeds to enumerate. As a reflection of Espinel's musical aesthetics they are most interesting. He says: first, the text of the *sonata* must convey lofty and subtle ideas expressed in a language and style worthy of them. Second, the music must be so truly the offspring of these ideas as to embody in sound their vital substance. Third, he who sings must have the spirit and inclination, the style and temperament suitable for its performance. Fourth, the listener must be disposed in mood and inclined by taste to respond to the music. In these circumstances, he says, music can work miracles. We have already seen, indeed, the profound effect on the poet and composer himself which the performance of his *octavas* had in the scene on the ship. Now the poet gives another example:

He sketches for us one of those charming scenes which we can so easily imagine as taking place in one of the picturesque little squares of sixteenth-century Seville. Lope has perpetuated such moments in many a comedy. It is evening. We see the ardent lover standing below the balcony where his lady is half-concealed in shadow. Two musicians whom the gentleman has engaged to serenade her perform with moving eloquence the song which begins:

[9] Madrid, Palacio Real, Archivo Real, Legajo c35, documents relating to Bernardo Clavijo.

Rompe las venas del ardiente pecho

As they finish their serenade the lover, overwhelmed with emotion, draws his dagger and addressing his lady implores her to use it upon himself. Espinel adds that the singers and *the author of the words and the music*, who was a witness of the scene, were astounded at this impassioned outburst so obviously precipitated by the music.

Now the verse Espinel quotes is from one of the poems included in the *Diversas rimas*.[10] It is the opening line of Liseo's despairing lament for the loss of Célida's love in the eclogue dedicated to Don Hernando de Toledo el Tío. It recounts the story of Espinel's love for Doña Antonia Maldonado y Calatayud and the tragedy of her rejection of his suit. The eloquence of this passage from Espinel's most ambitious eclogue may well be considered to meet the first two of the requirements he enumerates. What a pity that the music he composed to enhance its tragic tone is lost to us!

From the description we know only that the verses were set for two male voices, yet they must certainly have had an instrumental accompaniment. Espinel says that this piece, like the one performed aboard ship, was an example of the 'Spanish sonata'. The term 'sonata' referring to a vocal composition is unusual. So far no other instance of the use of the word to refer to a vocal composition has been turned up in Spanish writings. In Italy at this time the word regularly referred to a composition for instrumental ensemble. To be sure, at this period when independent instrumental forms and styles were in an early stage of development the descriptive terminology for the new types of composition was shifting and uncertain. Thus in Italy we have *canzone* or *canzone da sonar*, 'a song', or 'a song to be played', used to refer to an instrumental piece. Espinel's 'sonata' with reference to a vocal piece offers the reverse of this usage. Both terms indicate the fact that the line was not yet sharply drawn between compositions conceived specifically for voices and those for instruments. Along with the development of an independent instrumental style a new style of instrumental accompaniment for solo song was also emerging. The older contrapuntal style of composition in which the solo voice carried one part while the other parts were played on the lute or *vihuela* or by an instrumental ensemble was giving way to a new style. The voice now sang an independent melody with an instrumental accompaniment of chordal structure to give it harmonic support. It is precisely this kind of an accompaniment which the new five-stringed 'Spanish guitar' was designed to perform.

[10] See p. 106 of the edition by the Hispanic Institute.

Is it rash to suggest that 'sonata' describes this type of composition in specific contrast not only to the unaccompanied madrigals and *villancicos*, but also to the adaptations of these pieces for solo voice and instrumental accompaniment? Is it not probable that when Espinel speaks of the 'divine air and originality of the Spanish sonatas' he refers to this new style of composition'? The divine 'air' refers to the expressive quality of the melody and rhythm while its originality consists in the instrumental style of the accompaniment. In view of the outdoor setting of this serenade we must suppose the accompaniment to have been played on the guitar, as in the previous episode, very possibly the five-stringed instrument and perhaps by the poet himself. The point of the anecdote rests on the strikingly dramatic and expressive character of the melody. Do not all these elements suggest that we have here a description of the kind of composition which foreshadowed the development of seventeenth-century monody? In aesthetic intent, certainly, it is not far removed from Monteverdi's 'seconda prattica'. We can only infer its style and musical structure from the meager hints which the anecdote provides. Yet from our knowledge of Espinel's association with the distinguished musicians of his day and his contact with the musical activity both of his own country and of Italy, we are justified in believing that he was well aware of contemporary musical developments.

A study of the *Diversas rimas*, as of the *Marcos de Obregón*, has been the means of making us better acquainted with Espinel as a musician. We know now that he was indeed a composer as well as performer and critic. We may even perhaps be justified in believing that he made a contribution to the new tendencies in music which led to the great developments of the seventeenth century. The sonatas which we have been considering must have been composed not later than the eighties of the sixteenth century. If our assumptions are correct, we must suppose that the first attempts in the new style which flowered in the baroque forms of seventeenth-century Italian music were earlier and more widespread than is generally thought. The tradition associating Espinel with the five-stringed guitar rests, then, on his reputation not only as performer, but also as a composer for the instrument which was to attain its vogue in the seventeenth century precisely for the performance of the new music. We still know too little at first hand of Spanish music in Espinel's time. The tantalizing glimpses which he offers us suggest that further investigation will be rewarding.

Winnetka, Illinois ISABEL POPE CONANT

Two Songs with Accompaniment for an Elizabethan Choirboy Play

SOPHISTICATED song in the private theaters during the reign of Elizabeth—in contrast to the popular music characteristic of the public stage—implies at once compositions written especially for the drama, trained voices and instrumentalists to perform them, and a cultivated audience capable of appreciating the art of both composer and performer. In an often quoted description of a dramatic performance of the Children of the Chapel in 1602, a foreign visitor to London in the suite of Philipp Julius, Duke of Stettin-Pomerania, admired the skill of the boys as vocalists and instrumentalists and called attention to the intensity of their training. He also recorded that a whole hour before performance time an instrumental program of organs, lutes, pandoras, mandoras, viols, and recorders could be heard, interspersed with solos to a bass viol accompaniment sung by a boy '*cum voce tremula* . . . with such sweetness that unless the nuns at Milan surpassed him, we have not heard his like on our journey'.[1]

At about 1600, the chief choirboy groups—the Children of the Chapel and the Children of Paul's—were revived after a lapse of several years. As in earlier periods when Richard Edwards, George Peele, and John Lyly studded their plays with lyrics, now such dramatists as Ben Jonson and John Marston tried to make full use of the musical resources of the companies. William Percy, presumably sending a manuscript volume of plays (the plays bear dates in 1601–1603) to the master of the Paul's boys to be considered for performance, suggested that, should any of the plays be too long, 'you do let passe some of the songs, and make the consort the shorter'.[2] Although music was used in plays of the public stages, it

[1] See E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 1923), II, 46–47, for the account in German preserved in the journal of Frederic Gershow. The quoted excerpt is translated from it.

[2] Chambers, II, 20–21.

ordinarily had no such preëminent position. When Marston's *Malcontent* was transferred in the early 1600s from the private to the public stage, the additional dialogue with which it was supplied by John Webster was explained in the induction as necessary 'to abridge the not received custome of musicke in our Theater'.[3]

Music in relation to the choirboy plays has been studied in the last few decades in particular in a variety of ways.[4] For the most part the discussions have concentrated on individual dramatists and the functional use of music in their plays, or on the conventions of music for the stage in general, or on the analysis of types of songs associated with choirboy plays. The investigations have been based largely on evidence derived from lyrics to be sung, stage directions, and the dialogue in the play texts. On occasion some of the all too few surviving music settings for lyrics in the choirboy plays have been reproduced; these have variously appeared, sometimes transcribed in full, sometimes unfortunately only in part, and sometimes in facsimile.[5]

It is precisely in this last area—the reproduction and analysis of the surviving music—that further contributions to the study of music in the plays may be made. To the body of those already reproduced may be added two attractive items which deserve to be transcribed in full. They are for the anonymous *Blurt, Master-Constable* (Q 1602), a play performed by the Children of Paul's at the turn of the century, late in Elizabeth's reign. The first, entitled 'What meat eats the Spaniard', hitherto apparently neither identified as a stage song nor reproduced, appears in an

[3] *The Plays of John Marston*, ed. H. H. Wood (Edinburgh, 1934–1939), I, 143.

[4] For recent bibliographies of music in relation to Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, see M. C. Boyd, *Elizabethan Music and Musical Criticism* (Philadelphia, 1940), pp. 343–347; W. L. Woodfill, *Musicians in English Society* (Princeton, 1953), pp. 347–361; and J. H. Long, *Shakespeare's Use of Music* (Gainesville, Fla., 1955), pp. 197–210.

[5] For items which contain music or analysis of music for the choirboy plays in particular see G. E. P. Arkwright, 'Elizabethan Choirboy Plays and Their Music', *Proceedings of the Musical Association* (40th session, April 1914), pp. 117–138; John Bennet, *Madrigals to Four Voices*, ed. E. H. Fellowes in *The English Madrigal School*, XXIII (London, 1922); *The Bugbears*, ed. C. Grabau with M. Friedlaender, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen* XCVIII (1896), pp. 301–322, and XCIX (1897), pp. 25–58, 311–326; *The Buggbears*, ed. R. W. Bond in *Early Plays from the Italian* (Oxford, 1911), pp. 75–157; G. Bontoux, *La Chanson en Angleterre au temps d'Élisabeth* (Oxford, 1936), pp. 267–363; 'Early Elizabethan Stage Music', *The Musical Antiquary* I (October 1909–July 1910), pp. 30–40; W. M. Evans, *Ben Jonson and Elizabethan Music* (Lancaster, Pa., 1929); J. M. Gibbon, *Melody and the Lyric* (London, Toronto, and New York, 1930); E. S. Lindsey, 'The Music in Ben Jonson's Plays', *MLN* XLIV (1929), pp. 86–92; *Selections from the Works of Thomas Ravenscroft* (London, 1822, Roxburghe Club); P. Warlock (pseud. for P. Heseltine), *Elizabethan Songs*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1926).

anonymous vocal setting with instrumental accompaniment in British Museum Additional MSS. 17786–91.[6] Better known is the second, a setting by Edward Pearce of the lyric beginning 'Love for such a cherry lip', hitherto transcribed without accompaniment; it appears as a vocal solo with instrumental accompaniment in Thomas Ravenscroft's *A Brief Discourse* (1614).[7] Pearce, who became master of the Paul's boys in 1599–1600, may also have been the composer of the first setting. The following discussion comments on the music, relates the songs to their dramatic context, and identifies their lyrics with certain types recurring in the plays of the period.

The first, 'What meat eats the Spaniard', is significant chiefly because it illustrates the music for one kind of song which was typical of the choirboy plays in particular, the comic concerted item, whose lyrics and accompanying stage-directions indicate that it was performed by a small group of singers, usually a trio of pages. Sometimes the characters sing in ensemble, sometimes alternately. Invariably the lyrics suggest, if not horseplay on the stage, at least grimaces or gesticulations to accompany the text. The complete songs seem like self-contained five-minute operettas. Edwards' *Damon and Pithias* includes one entitled 'The Song at the shaving of the Collier.' Buffoonery is emphasized as the lackeys Will and Jack perform an impromptu lather and razor operation on the bumpkin Grim as they sing their song.

If the lyrics in John Lyly's plays, first printed in Edward Blount's edition of 1632, are actually his, it may be said that Lyly perfected this kind of song and included one in almost all of his plays.[8] In *Endimion* (III.iii) Dares, Epiton, and Samias sing the lyric beginning 'Here snores Tophas'

[6] These MSS., comprising six part-books, are dated 'early 17th cent.' by A. Hughes-Hughes in *A Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum* (London, 1906–1909), III, 220, and are described as containing instrumental fantasias, fancies, madrigals, anthems, and carols by English composers of the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. See also I, 5, 142–143; II, 137; III, 232. The MSS. contain several dramatic laments, some of which have been transcribed by Warlock in *Elizabethan Songs*.

[7] Melody without accompaniment is given in *Selections from . . . Ravenscroft*, p. 24, and also in Gibbon, p. 132. In Gibbon the source is erroneously noted as Ravenscroft's *Melismata* (1611). For Ravenscroft's connection with St. Paul's see W. J. Lawrence, 'Thomas Ravenscroft's Theatrical Associations', *MLR* XIX (1924), 418–423.

[8] For discussions of the omitted songs in the early editions of Lyly's plays, see R. W. Bond, 'Lyly's Songs', *RES* VI (1930), 295–299; A. Feuillerat, *John Lyly* (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 402 ff.; W. W. Greg, 'The Authorship of the Songs in Lyly's Plays', *MLR* I (1905), 43–52; W. W. Greg, 'Lyly's Songs', *TLS* (3 January 1924); W. J. Lawrence, 'The Problem of Lyly's Songs', *TLS* (20 December 1923); and J. R. Moore, 'The Songs in Lyly's Plays', *PMLA* XLII (1927), 623–640.

as they hover about their sleeping victim playing pranks. In *Sappho and Phao* (III.ii) Cryticus, Molus, and Calypho conjure up a mock battle in a song, 'Arm, arm, the foe comes on apace.' For the most part, each sings individual lines alone, the group joining together at the beginning and at the end. In *Campaspe* (I.ii) the well-known song of Granichus, Psyllus, and Manes, 'O for a bowl of fat canary', is similarly distributed among the characters: like most waggish pages in the choirboy plays, they complain, as the dialogue leading up to this song makes clear, about the short rations on which their masters keep them.

For the anonymous *Blurt, Master-Constable*, the lyric 'What meat eats the Spaniard' is precisely in this tradition. Its lines are sung in turn by three pages—Doyt, Pilcher, and Dandyprat—and it provides a whimsical commentary on the poor fare of Pilcher, who is wasting away on a diet consisting of dried sardines (pilcher) and cheap hake (poor-john). Pilcher is the slender page of the swaggering Spaniard, Lazarillo de Tormes.

This is the dialogue leading up to and including the song at the end of the first act (ll.193–216):

Dandyprat . . . Pilcher! thou'rt a most pitiful dried one.
Doyt I wonder thy master does not slice thee, and swallow thee for an anchovies.
Pilcher He wants wine, boy, to swallow me down, for he wants money to swallow down wine. But farewell; I must dog my master.
Dandyprat As long as thou dogst a Spaniard, thou'lt ne'er be fatter: but stay; our haste is as great as thine; yet to endear ourselves into thy lean acquaintance, cry, rivo hoh! laugh and be fat; and for joy that we are met, we'll meet and be merry. Sing.
Pilcher I'll make a shift to squeak.
Doyt And I.
Dandyprat And I, for my profession is to shift [i.e., trenchers] as well as you: hem!

Song.

Doyt What meat eats the Spaniard?
Pilcher Dried pilchers and poor-john.
Dandyprat Alas, thou art almost marr'd!
Pilcher My cheeks are fall'n and gone.
Doyt Wouldst thou not leap at a piece of meat?
Pilcher O, how my teeth do water! I could eat:
'Fore the heavens, my flesh is almost gone
With eating of pilcher and poor-john.[9]

The vocal parts together with a sparkling accompaniment for a quintet of viols are altogether suggestive of the pert, smart, and knowing

[9] *The Works of Thomas Middleton*, ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1885), I, 23–24. The abbreviations of the speakers' names have been expanded. The authorship of the play, first attributed to Middleton in 1661, was not seriously questioned until a few decades ago. See R. C. Bald, 'The Chronology of Middleton's Plays', *MLR* XXXII (1937), 33–43.

nature of the three pages. The music certainly fulfills the requisites for a song satisfying to the courtesan Imperia, of the same play, when on a different occasion (II.ii. 44–49) she calls to her two attendants for a song:

> Sing, sing, sing; some odd and fantastical thing, for I cannot abide these dull and lumpish tunes; the musician stands longer a-pricking them than I would do to hear them. No, no, no, give me your light ones, that go nimbly and quick, and are full of changes, and carry sweet division.

The major share of the vocal part is sung by Pilcher and is scored for the alto voice. The low treble voice range suggests that the part was taken by one of the older boys of the group whose voice was beginning to lower. Very likely the little boy with the 'high stretcht minikin voice'[10] was only infrequently assigned much solo singing in plays.[11] In this piece Doyt and Dandyprat, both sopranos, are allotted only three lines of the lyric between them to sing. None of the vocal parts, however, can easily be executed by the amateur; each presupposes a trained voice and considerable understanding of music.

The accompaniment for viols, rich and brilliant in its five-part texture, is conceived for the most part homophonically, although individual voice parts move linearly with considerable independence. The writing is mature; its finished and polished technique indicates a relatively long period of development in writing for the viols in the preceding decades of the sixteenth century.

'Love for such a cherry lip', the second of the pieces for *Blurt, Master-Constable*, has a rather unusual setting. Toward the end of the play (V.ii. 40 ff.), Imperia, the mistress of a fashionable bordello, entertains the French captive Fontinelle with what she modestly describes as 'a poor Italian song'. With a mock self-disparagement typical of many singers in the plays, she sets the tempo for her accompanists, who are apparently on the stage playing viols:

> I care not if I persuade my bad voice to wrestle with this music, and catch a strain: so, so, so; keep time, keep time, keep time.

---

[10] *The Plays of John Marston*, I, 55. So Rossaline in *Antonio and Mellida* describes the vocal equipment of a singer.

[11] For alto voice is an anonymous setting with bass viol accompaniment of 'If I freely may discover', the lyric to be sung in Jonson's *The Poetaster* (acted by the Children of the Chapel in 1601). The setting survives in Br. Mus. Add. MS. 24665, ff. 59^{b}–60, which is dated '*c.* 1615–30' by Hughes-Hughes, II, 468–469. A facsimile appears in Evans. In Ravenscroft's *Melismata* (1611), a collection of solos, trios, and four-part choruses with accompaniment, most of the solos are also for alto voice (medius). A few are for tenor. Two of the items—No. 6, for three voices, and No. 7, for four voices—are settings of lyrics typical of those assigned to pages in several choirboy plays.

The song which follows belongs to a class of amorous songs characteristic of the plays for the public as well as for the private theaters. Emotional scenes were frequently intensified by music. Amorous moods call for love songs, and the variety to be found in the plays ranges from the delicate and chaste to the coarse and libidinous. The situation here is not very different from that in Marston's *Dutch Courtesan* (I.ii), where Francischina entertains Freevill and Malheureux with a song to the lute beginning 'The dark is my delight'. Among the more indelicate songs in later plays for the public theaters is 'Come hither, you that love', sung in Fletcher's *Captain* (IV.iv) by the courtesan Lelia as she spreads a banquet in preparation for a visitor. In Fletcher's *Chances* (IV.iii), the music issuing from the bawd's house, including the song beginning 'Welcome, sweet liberty! and, care, farewell!', prompts the following response from the impetuous Don John: 'This music murders me: what blood have I now!'[12]

As in 'What meat eats the Spaniard', the accompaniment for 'Love for such a cherry lip' is conceived largely in a homophonic manner; individual viol parts frequently anticipate the vocal line or suggest its rhythm. Presumably the treble viol part doubled the vocal part, which is scored for an alto (medius). The sophistication of Imperia's role doubtless demanded an older boy, though the acting as well as the singing of the tenderest 'kitling' should not be underestimated. Both vocal and instrumental parts provide a graceful setting for a graceful lyric. In the music as well as the lyric, the invitation to dalliance is playfully suggested in the 'hey nonny, nonny' refrain.

Although these two songs are the only ones in *Blurt, Master-Constable* for which music apparently survives, four other lyrics for singing appear at various key places in the play, and on three occasions instrumental music is called for to play for dancing. Of these four lyrics one beginning 'In a fair woman what thing is best' is sung by attendants to amuse Imperia (II.ii). The distribution of the lyric between Trivia and Simperina makes clear a duet arrangement. It is interesting that Imperia asks that the sonnet be read before it is sung. Later in the same scene the lyric beginning 'Love is like a lamb, and love is like a lion', sung by an unspecified singer (or singers), seems to comment ironically on the entry at the bordello of Lazarillo, who speaks with the fustian of Ancient Pis-

[12] *The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher*, ed. A. H. Bullen (London, 1904–1912), IV, 510–511.

tol and blusters and swaggers much like that decayed would-be gallant. Still another lyric beginning 'Pity, pity, pity' is sung by an unspecified singer as a serenade to the heroine Violetta on behalf of her lover Camillo. Camillo arranges the instrumental ensemble outside Violetta's window (III.i. 116–118):

> Bestow them sweetly; think a lover's heart
> Dwells in each instrument, and let it melt
> In weeping strains.

The last of the lyrics, sung 'within', is a kind of atmospheric piece for Lazarillo as he wanders about in Imperia's house (IV.ii). Its lyric begins 'Midnight's bell goes ting, ting, ting, ting, ting'. Of these six songs, one is a trio assigned to pages, one is a duet assigned to attendants, and one is a solo song to be sung by Imperia. The remaining three are apparently to be sung by unnamed solo voices or a chorus. Except for Imperia, none of the chief characters is required to sing.

While Desdemona's Willow Song or Ophelia's ballad fragments may have been poignantly effective when sung unaccompanied, the songs of the choirboy plays, as in the two reproduced below, usually demanded an accompaniment which complemented or heightened in some way the vocal part or parts. The stage directions in choirboy plays indicate that the accompaniment was often provided by other instruments as well as the frequently used lute.[13] A random check shows the frequency with which the quartet of viols was used: these are explicitly mentioned, for example, in Redford's *Wit and Science*, in the anonymous *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, and in the anonymous *Sir Giles Goosecap*. A bass viol alone accompanies a song in Marston's *Antonio's Revenge*; in his *Malcontent* cornets are used, and these are joined with an organ in his *Sophonisba*. The regals, or portable organ, is specified as the accompanying instrument in Edwards' *Damon and Pithias*.

These two songs with music in *Blurt, Master-Constable* are attractive examples of accompanied stage songs for a choirboy play produced about 1600. Such songs with accompaniment have hitherto not been reproduced except for a few dramatic laments for choirboy plays of an earlier period of activity before or about 1585. Although the lyrics of these indicate a dramatic context, either the plays for which they were written are not preserved, or if preserved, the play texts contain neither

[13] See Long, pp. 16–43, for an extended discussion of instrumental music in Elizabethan drama.

lyrics nor directions for singing.[14] If the adult professional companies acting on the public stages had the vocal and instrumental resources to model the songs in their plays on those of the choirboy plays, songs such as those reproduced below doubtless are the types of accompanied song which served as the patterns.

Although the distinction between the types of vocal music performed in private and public theaters can hardly be maintained in a rigid manner, the tendency of the former, whose musical resources both vocal and instrumental were extensive, was always toward sophistication. Some of the items, however, specified to be sung in choirboy plays are distinctly of a popular nature. The cumulative drinking song introduced at the conclusion of *Jack Drum's Entertainment* (Q 1601; acted by the Paul's boys) beginning 'Give us once a drink' appears as No. 28 in Ravenscroft's *Deuteromelia* (1609), a collection of catches and 'freemen's' songs to three and four voices; the latter, of which this is one in four parts, are relatively simple, homophonic settings of a popular nature. Similarly, in *The Maid's Metamorphosis* (Q 1600; acted by the Paul's boys), Mopso's song fragment beginning 'Terlitelo, terlitelo, terlitelee, terlo' (Act II) appears as a catch for three voices in Ravenscroft's *Pammelia* (1609), No. 3, with a few variants in words.[15] The popular ballad tune 'Fortune my foe', a stanza of which is sung by Joculo in the same play (Act II), appears in several contemporary sources.[16]

Such popular types of song were always appealing. In Thomas Middleton's *Women Beware Women* (*ca.* 1621), a play for the public stage, the rich young heir, after listening to the singing of the heroine Isabella,

[14] See Arkwright for a discussion of several dramatic laments with accompaniment for viols by Robert Parsons, Richard Farrant, Nathaniel Patrick, etc. appearing in Christ Church MSS. 984–988 (the Dowe MS, which bears a fly-leaf date of 1581) and also in Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 17786–91. Many of these have been transcribed by Warlock in *Elizabethan Songs*.

[15] The text of the song (spelling modernized) as it appears in *Pammelia*:

> Jolly shepherd, and upon a hill as he sat
> So loud he blew his little horn, and kept right well his gate:
> Early in a morning, late in an evening,
> And ever blew this little boy, so merrily piping
> Terliterlo, terliterlo, terliterlo, terli,
> Terliterlo, terliterlo, terliterlo, terli.

Though printed later, the words of this catch are probably the earliest available source of Mopso's song fragment (cf. J. P. Cutts, 'The Second Coventry Carol and a Note on *The Maydes Metamorphosis*', *RN* X (1957), 6–7.)

[16] See W. Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (London, 1859), I, 162.

makes a comment which may have found support among some portion of the audience, even though Middleton characterizes the speaker as something of a boor:

> Here's a tune indeed! pish,
> I had rather hear one ballad sung i' the nose now
> Of all the lamentable drowning of fat sheep and oxen,
> Than all these simpering tunes play'd upon cat's-guts,
> And sung by little kitlings.[17]

While the catch, the three-man song, and the ballad tune predominate in the plays for the public stage (particularly before rather than after 1600), the song with accompaniment, usually for lute or viols, is the more usual for lyrics in the plays of the private theater. Such a song was occasionally elaborated into the duet and trio,[18] and it is to be distinguished from the dramatic laments mentioned above in achieving a greater degree of intimacy. The laments are conceived in a more formal manner and on a rather more ambitious scale. The four-part chorus for choirboy plays, if we may judge from a few surviving examples, resembles the ballet rather than the madrigal.[19]

These are the chief song forms used in choirboy plays, and these are the vehicles for many of the graceful lyrics to be sung in the plays: not only the dramatic lament and the comic trio, but also the fairy dance song, the bird song, and—less prominent but equally sophisticated—the

[17] *The Works of Middleton*, VI, 314, ll. 152–156.

[18] For the anonymous *The Bugbears*, acted by an unknown boys' company about 1563–1565, there survive in the MS. of the play text two items of music in fragmentary state. The first item has a verse solo for alto and a duet refrain for soprano and alto; the second item is a concluding chorus for three (and possibly four) treble voices. Accompaniments for both, presumably for viols, are wanting. See editions of play with music by Grabau with Friedlaender and by Bond. The three-part setting of 'Slow, slow, fresh fount' (the lyric from Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*) in Henry Youll's *Canzonets to Three Voices* (1608) is very likely not a stage song, for the play text makes clear that the lyric is to be sung as a solo by Echo. For this setting in the *Canzonets* see *The English Madrigal School*, ed. Fellowes, XXVIII (1923), 35–41.

[19] Two four-part choruses for the anonymous *The Maid's Metamorphosis*—John Bennet's The Elves' Dance, beginning 'Round about', and the anonymous The Urchins' Dance, beginning 'By the moon'—appear in Ravenscroft's *A Brief Discourse* (1614). For modern transcriptions see, for the first, Bennet, *Madrigals to Four Voices*, ed. Fellowes, pp. 97–99; for the second, see Bontoux, pp. 276–277. In Gibbon, p. 132, 'By the moon', incompletely transcribed, is erroneously noted as appearing in Ravenscroft's *Melismata* (1611). In Long, p. 101, 'By the moon', here also incompletely given, is incorrectly ascribed to Pearce, and its lyric is mistakenly identified with *Blurt, Master-Constable*.

song in a foreign language, and the extempore and the contention song. Some, like the fairy dance song and the trio for pages, demand children as actors as well as singers, but all presuppose highly trained vocalists, and many require an accompaniment which is an integral part of the composition.

Brown University ANDREW J. SABOL

NOTES ON THE MUSIC

In the transcriptions the music, with barring supplied in both items, has been presented in compressed score; the spelling of the lyrics has been modernized. Editorial additions have been bracketed.

'What meat eats the Spaniard.' In the six part-books of Br. Mus. Add. MSS. 17786–91 this item appears as No. 28: i–iv, vi, f. 13^b; v, f. 9^b, entitled 'What meat eats the Spaniard'. The music is anonymous. The part-books are described by A. Hughes-Hughes in *A Catalogue of Manuscript Music in the British Museum* III, 220, as containing 'the "superius", "medius", contra-tenor, tenor, "sextus", and bass parts'. The soprano vocal part for Doyt and Dandyprat, who (according to the play text) sing three lines of the lyric, is wanting, and is supplied from the superius instrumental part; the words of these three lines, bracketed, are taken from the play text. The vocal line easily accommodates the words. Such a reconstruction is justified by the duplication of the sextus part (which appears with words in the MS.) and the medius instrumental part. In the transcription the first stave of each brace, bracketed, contains the reconstructed soprano part.

'Love for such a cherry lip.' In Ravenscroft's *A Brief Discourse* (1614) this item appears on sigs. E4–F1 as No. 15, entitled 'The Mistress of her Servant', with lyric of two verses. The music is ascribed to Edward Pearce. The accompaniment is probably for a quartet of viols, the treble instrumental part (not given in the old edition) duplicating the vocal part. The treble instrumental part is supplied in the transcription.

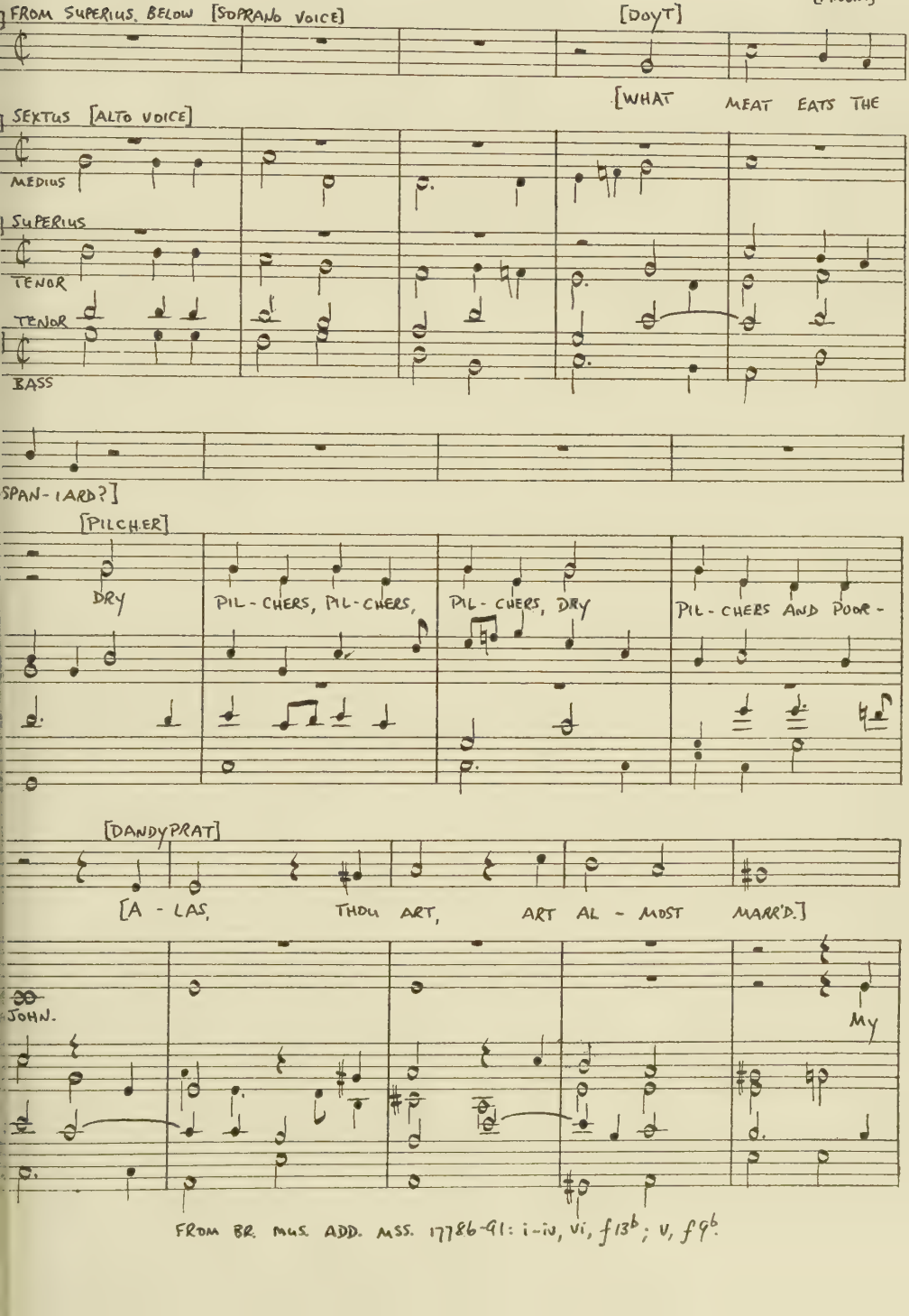
In measure 16 of the transcription the D of the tenor part (see stave 2) is presented as a dotted half note. In the old edition the time value is a quarter note, obviously an error.

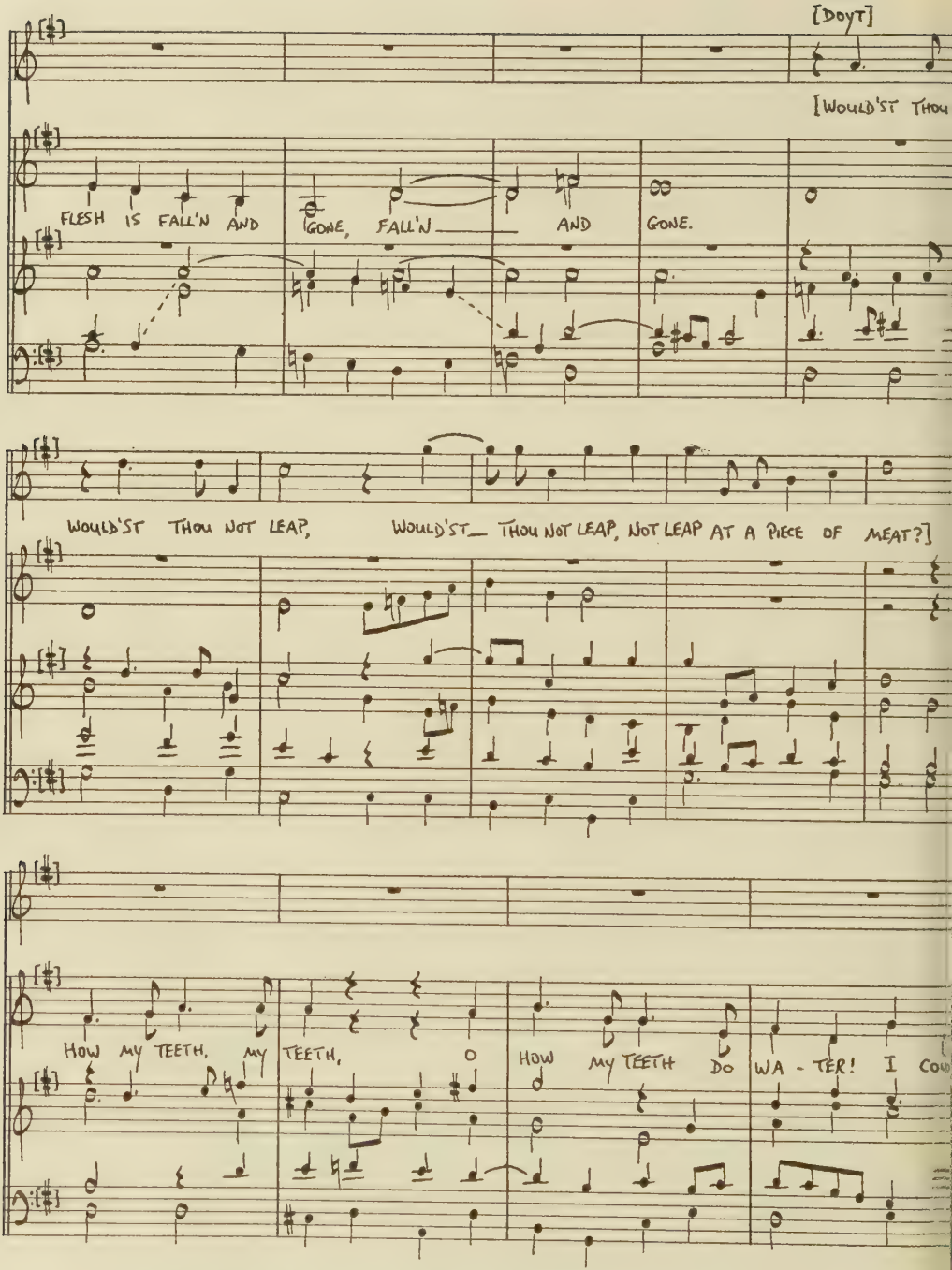
In measures 13 and 25 of the transcription the cross relations (F natural against F sharp in the medius and treble parts) have been indicated. When the notes are played as written by individual instruments rather than on a keyboard instrument, the resulting dissonance is rather attractive. In this transcription, as well as in the preceding, the individual instrumental parts are clearly indicated throughout.

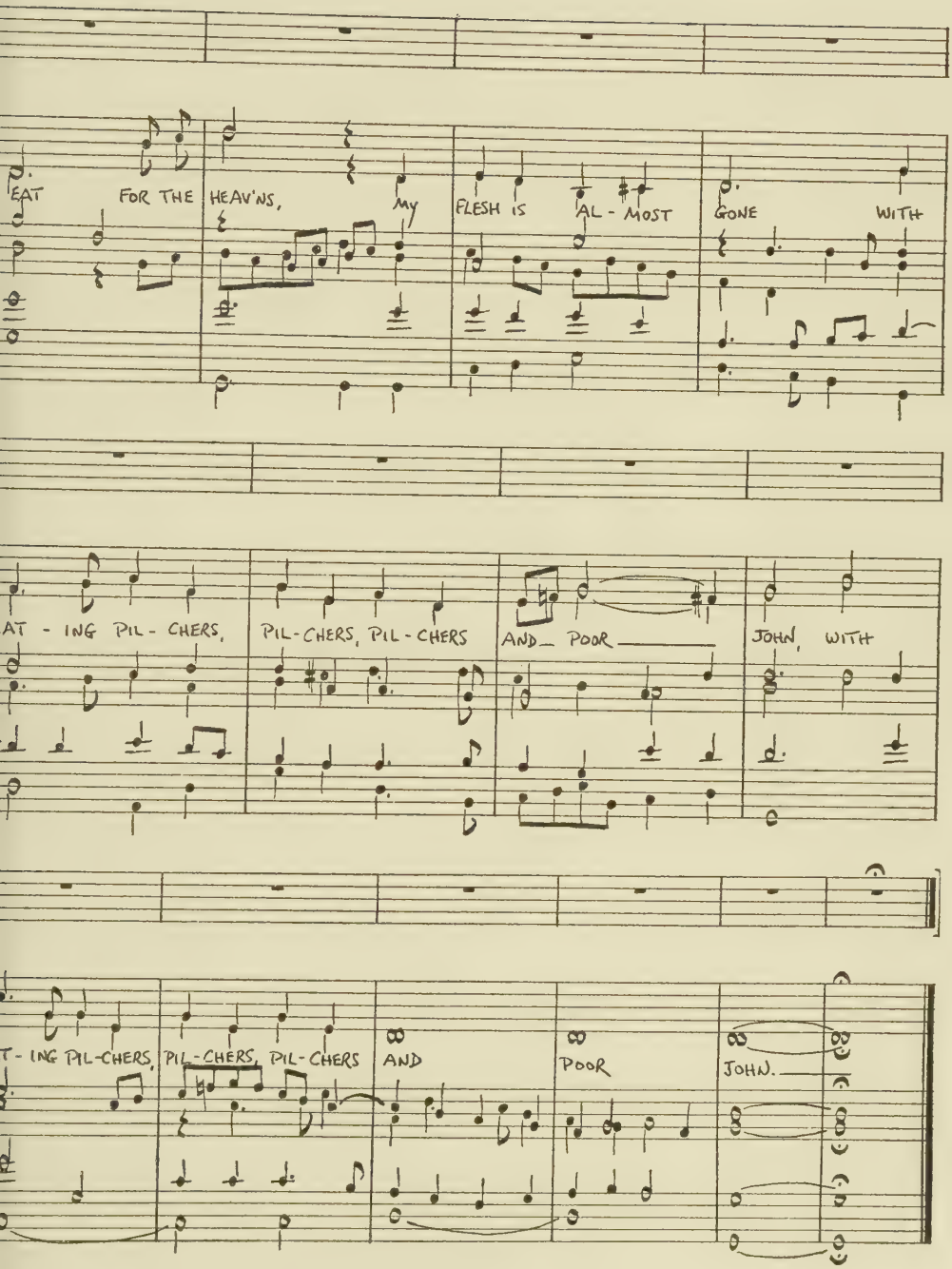
I am grateful for the opportunity to consult the copy of the old edition in the Arents Collection in the New York Public Library. I also wish to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to reproduce the first song.

WHAT MEAT EATS THE SPANIARD?

[ANON.]

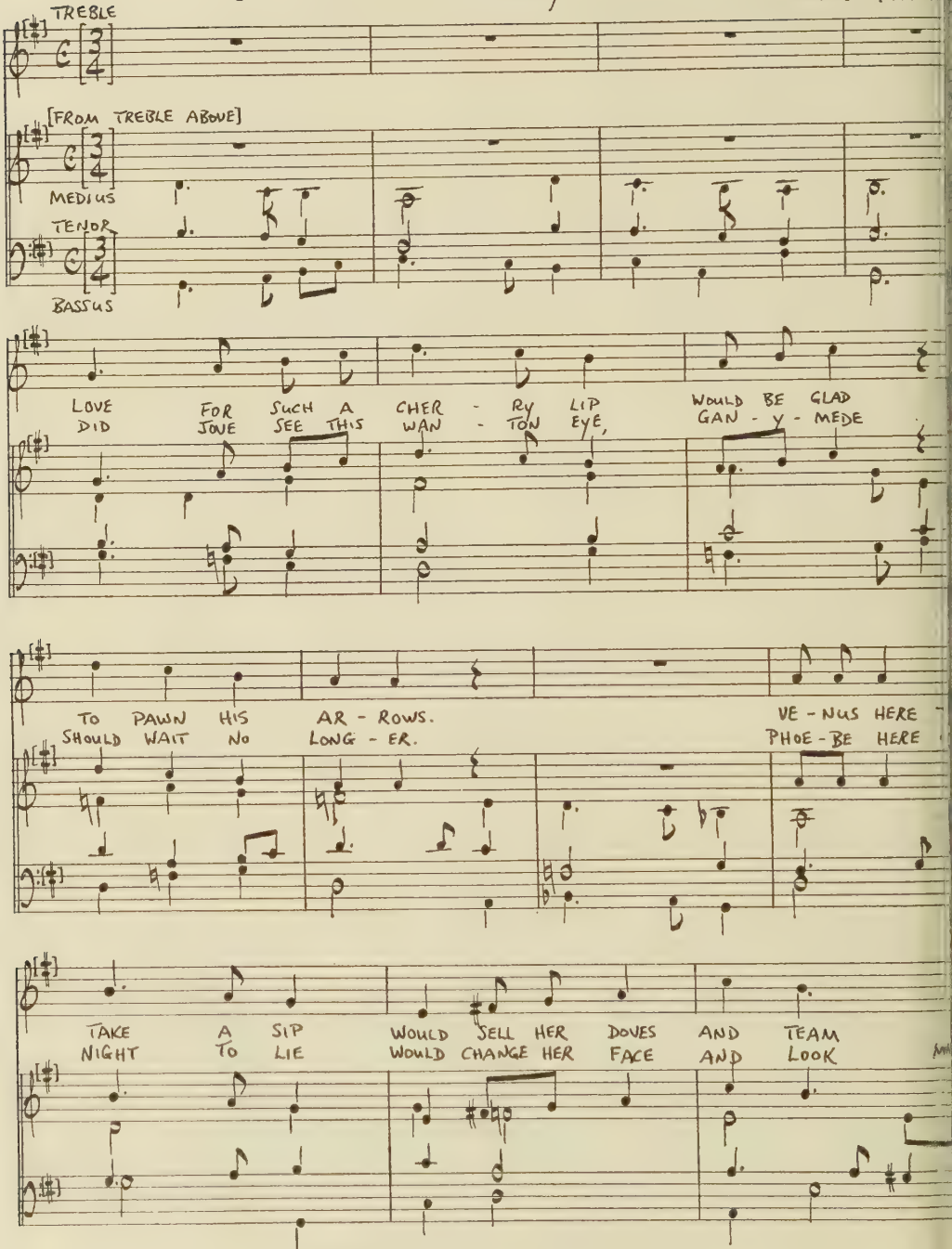


FROM BR. MUS. ADD. MSS. 17786-91: i–iv, vi, $f13^{b}$; v, $f9^{b}$.

[DOYT]
[WOULD'ST THOU
FLESH IS FALL'N AND GONE, FALL'N AND GONE.
WOULD'ST THOU NOT LEAP, WOULD'ST THOU NOT LEAP, NOT LEAP AT A PIECE OF MEAT?]
HOW MY TEETH, MY TEETH, O HOW MY TEETH DO WA - TER! I

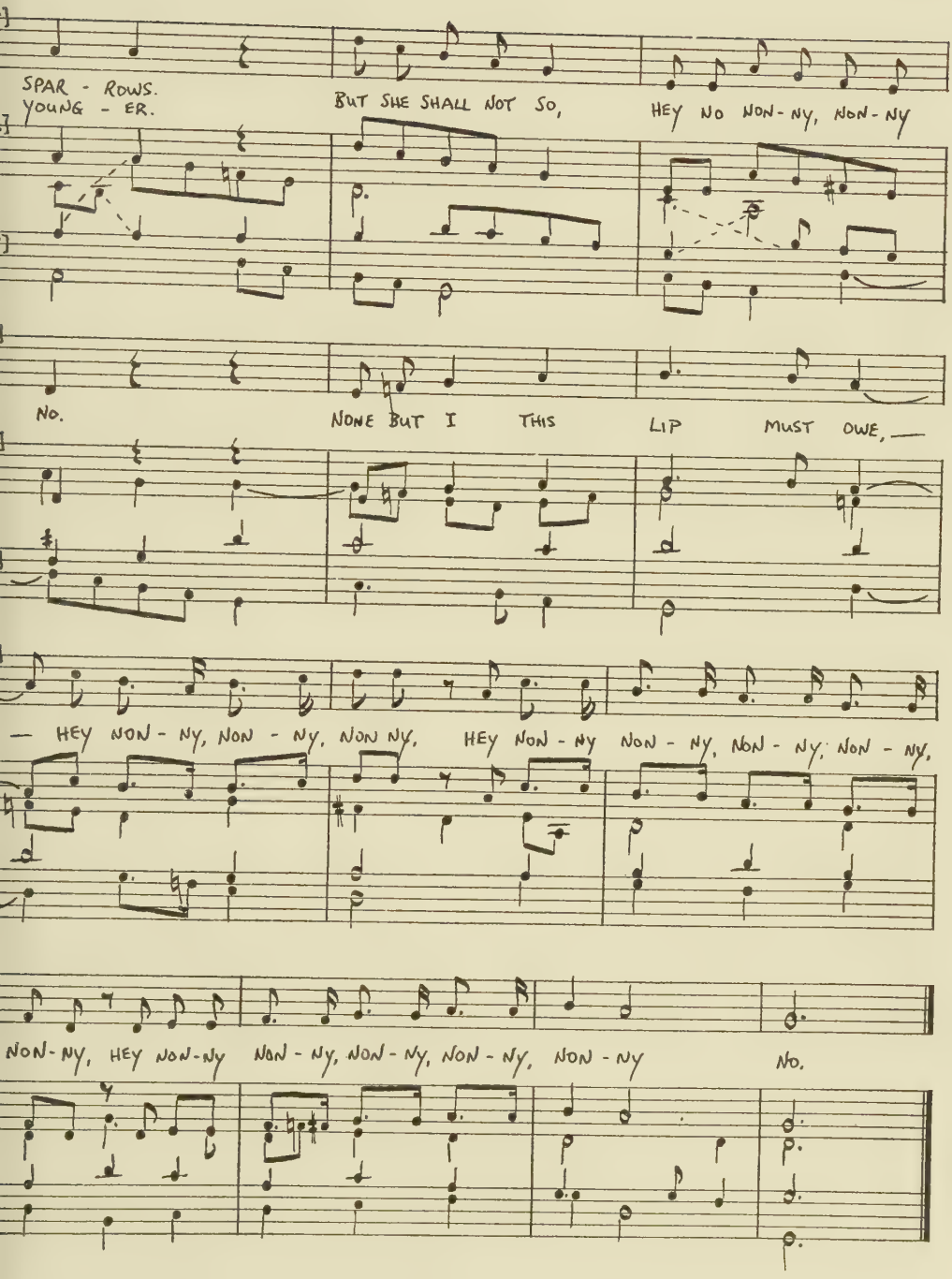

EAT FOR THE HEAV'NS, MY FLESH IS AL - MOST GONE WITH
AT - ING PIL - CHERS, PIL - CHERS, PIL - CHERS AND_ POOR JOHN, WITH
T - ING PIL-CHERS, PIL-CHERS, PIL-CHERS AND POOR JOHN.

[Love For Such A Cherry Lip]

EDWARD PEARC


TREBLE
[FROM TREBLE ABOVE]
MEDIUS
TENOR
BASSUS
LOVE DID FOR JOVE SUCH A SEE THIS CHER - RY LIP WAN - TON EYE,
WOULD BE GLAD GAN - Y - MEDE
TO PAWN HIS AR - ROWS.
SHOULD WAIT NO LONG - ER.
VE - NUS HERE
PHOE - BE HERE
TAKE A SIP
NIGHT TO LIE
WOULD SELL HER DOVES AND TEAM
WOULD CHANGE HER FACE AND LOOK

FROM T. RAVENSCROFT'S A BRIEF DISCOURSE (1614)


SPAR - ROWS.
YOUNG - ER.
BUT SHE SHALL NOT SO,
HEY NO NON-NY, NON-NY
NO.
NONE BUT I THIS LIP MUST OWE,
— HEY NON-NY, NON - NY, NON NY, HEY NON - NY NON - NY, NON - NY, NON - NY,
NON-NY, HEY NON-NY NON - NY, NON - NY, NON - NY, NON - NY
NO.

Thomas Shelton, Translator of *Don Quixote*

N 1878 A. J. Duffield, then preparing his translation of *Don Quixote* (1881), addressed a letter to *Notes and Queries:*

> Thomas Shelton. Could any of your readers furnish me with an account of this old English worthy? He was not only the first translator into English of Don Quixote, but the first of all translators; and it would be a disgrace to us if we cannot discover who he was and what other works he did.

Apparently the risk of national disgrace was an ineffectual stimulus, for three years later H. E. Watts, whose own translation followed Duffield's in 1886, also sent a query to the same journal: 'Who was Thomas Shelton, the first translator of Don Quixote, and where is any information to be got of him?'[1] These were the first occasions in the two and a half centuries since his translation appeared in London in 1612 that any one had publicly expressed any curiosity about Thomas Shelton. It is doubtful that Duffield or Watts received much comfort from Sir Sidney Lee's short entry on Shelton in the *Dictionary of National Biography* in 1897. Lee's identification was frankly conjectural, and, as it turns out, incorrect. The only other attempt to unearth Shelton was made by Alexander Tremaine Wright in 1898.[2] His brief pamphlet was privately printed and few copies of it are now in existence. An ingenious blend of research and fancy, it by no means identifies the translator. Wright amalgamated three, perhaps four, Sheltons into an oddly-assorted figure. However, his conclusions stand up in three respects: in his demolition of the *D.N. B.* article; in the way he works out a plausible connection between one Thomas Shelton and Lord Howard de Walden, the dedicatee of the translation; and in the accurate distinction he draws between the translator and Thomas Shelton, tachygrapher—inventor of the shorthand sys-

[1] 4th Series, XI, 195, and 5th Series, VI, 388.

[2] *Thomas Shelton, Translator* (London, 1898).

tem used by Pepys.[3] The following article is a report on work still in progress. Though much remains to be discovered, it seems, at long last, time to answer the queries of Duffield and Watts, for I believe that Thomas Shelton the translator can now be identified.

Any search for the elusive translator naturally commences with the preface to his book.

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE HIS VERIE GOOD LORD, THE Lord of WALDEN, &c.

MIne Honourable Lord; hauing Translated some fiue or sixe yeares agoe, the Historie of *Don Quixote*, out of the Spanish tongue into the English, in the space of forty daies: being thervnto more then halfe enforced, through the importunitie of a very deere friend, that was desirous to vnderstand the subiect: After I had giuen him once a view thereof, I cast it aside, where it lay long time neglected in a corner, and so little regarded by me as I neuer once set hand to review or correct the same. Since when, at the intreatie of others my friends, ĩ was content to let it come to light, conditionally, that some one or other, would peruse and amend the errours escaped; my many affaires hindering mee from vndergoing that labour. Now I vnderstand by the Printer, that the Copie was presented to your Honour: which did at the first somewhat disgust mee, because as it must passe, I feare much, it will proue farre vnworthy, either of your Noble view or protection. Yet since it is mine, though abortiue, I doe humbly intreate, that your Honour will lend it a fauourable countenance, there by to animate the parent thereof to produce in time some worthier subiect, in your Honourable name, whose many rare vertues haue already rendred me so highly deuoted to your seruice, as I will some day giue very euident tokens of the same, and till then I rest,

Your Honours most affectionate Seruitor,
Thomas Shelton.

Theophilus Howard, Baron de Walden, was twenty-eight years old in 1612 and a prominent young courtier. He succeeded his father as Earl of Suffolk in 1626. Although there is no indication in Shelton's words of why de Walden had been selected, Wright argues that the translator was a distant relative through de Walden's mother, a Knevet, whose great aunt Anne was the daughter of the Sir John Shelton of Norfolk who died in 1539. Wright is probably correct, but the question is still moot for one important reason: so far no one has been able to discover among the tangled maze of Sheltons just where an ancestor of the translator stems into Sir John Shelton's family tree.

There naturally has been speculation about the 'deere friend' for whom the translation was made. The candidate for the role was first nominated by James Fitzmaurice-Kelly in his introduction to the Tudor Translations edition of *Don Quixote* (1896)—Richard Verstegan, bap-

[3] *Thomas Shelton, Tachygrapher* (London, 1896), also privately printed. For a late example of the confusion of these two Sheltons see M. C. Whitaker, *A History of the Shelton Family of England and America* (St. Louis, 1941), p. 26.

tized Richard Rowlands. He was a self-exiled English Catholic who lived for over fifty years in Amsterdam and other cities in the Low Countries. Well known as a writer and publisher of propaganda for the Catholic cause, he served also as liaison between England and Spain and Rome. The only other piece of writing by a Thomas Shelton known to Wright and Fitzmaurice-Kelly was a signed poem—'To His Deare Friend, M. Richard Verstegan'—which is one of ten effusions at the beginning of the latter's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities* (Antwerp and London, 1605). When Fitzmaurice-Kelly established the fact that Shelton had translated from the Spanish edition printed in Brussels by Velpius in 1607, it seemed plausible for him to infer that Verstegan had sent a copy over to Shelton. Wright supported and elaborated this conjecture. But neither he nor Fitzmaurice-Kelly explained how Verstegan in the Low Countries knew Shelton in London, or why Verstegan, who had been reading Spanish correspondence for years, should importune Shelton to translate *Don Quixote* for him. I have examined practically all of the Verstegan correspondence, but it yields no mention of Shelton.[4] As will become apparent shortly, there is little question that the translator knew Verstegan and is the author of the commendatory verses in the *Restitution*; however, there is nothing but the bare fact of their acquaintance to support the theory that Verstegan was the 'deere friend'. Whereas all that is known about him argues against his being interested in a book like *Don Quixote*.

Like the dedication, the translation itself yields only teasingly vague biographical information. Since this is not the place for an extended examination, suffice it to say that it shows the author to have been decently educated, that he certainly had lived in Spain and had acquired an extensive but occasionally inaccurate knowledge of Spanish, and that he possibly had some familiarity with Ireland. There is no evidence for Wright's assertion that Shelton had a 'robust contempt' for the Spanish people. His English is fresh, lively, colloquial, but characterized by a number of words already becoming archaic—the vocabulary of a man who had grown up away from the centers of culture like Oxford, Cambridge, or London.

As it turns out, what probably threw Wright off the track was the

[4] The main collections are at Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, and the Archives of the Diocese of Westminster, London. References to Verstegan abound in the Domestic and Flanders State Papers. See *The Catholic Encyclopedia* and Edward Rombauts, *Richard Verstegen, een polemist der contra-reformatie* (Brussels, 1933).

perfectly natural assumption that Shelton was an Englishman. The Shelton family was a very old Norfolk one, prominent under Henry VIII, Mary, and Elizabeth, and since the days of William the Conqueror blessed with a fecundity that caused it to spread in an utterly confusing array of descendants, some called Sheldon and Skelton, into half the shires of England and over into Ireland. Though Wright found a few of the references to Sheltons in the Irish State Papers and Carew Manuscripts, he assumed that the translator was an Englishman who 'held some official position' and was briefly in Dublin as a messenger for the English Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam.

The evidence by which one of several Thomas Sheltons can be selected as the translator is of two kinds. One is a collection of biographical data, now scattered all over Europe, which fits together to form a person with the appropriate background, education, relatives, and location in history. The other is a single sentence in one of this man's letters, which leaves no reasonable doubt of his connection with the book. It must be admitted, however, that so far I have been unable to find a letter in which Shelton, or one of his friends, makes specific mention of the translation. This may appear less surprising if it is remembered that it is sheerest luck that any of his correspondence survives, and also that in England in the early seventeenth century *Don Quixote* had little of the prestige that it has since acquired. Conventional as Shelton's statement seems about dashing off the translation in 'forty daies' with no thought of publication, in this instance it is probably true. It *was* five years between 1607 and 1612. And for all its solid virtues, the translation is patently a hurried and unrevised job. And the personal tone of the marginal notes—incorporated, perhaps by accident, into the text by the typesetter—convincingly supports Shelton's statement that he translated only for 'a deere friend'.

As early as 1537 a John Shelton was mayor of Dublin. He died in 1563, and happily his will was not consumed in the Four Courts fire of 1922. His two sons, Thomas and Henry, were merchants and aldermen like their father, regularly mentioned in the city records. Thomas' elder son, John, was elected mayor in 1604 but had to resign when he refused to take the oath of supremacy. The Sheltons of Dublin were devout Catholics. The first John's other son, Henry, was sheriff in 1596. According to his son Thomas, he died after eight years' imprisonment in Dublin Castle for his faith. Henry had seven sons, five of whom appear to have reached maturity; William, John, Edward, and Lawrence were

all duly enfranchised as voting citizens. Thomas, the third son, never was.[5]

This Thomas Shelton first found his way into a brief notoriety on account of his next-eldest brother, John, who, in October 1598, was one of four or six men (the accounts differ) who plotted to surprise and seize Dublin Castle. At this time Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, to the great joy of Irish and Spanish Catholics, had mounted a rebellion of such dimensions that Queen Elizabeth and her councilors were more than usually concerned. In just a few months the queen was reluctantly to send the Earl of Essex on his sorry expedition to subdue O'Neill. The plans of the conspirators to hand Dublin Castle over to Tyrone were ruined when one of them, John Lyman, had a change of heart and confessed to the authorities. Three of his companions, including John Shelton, were caught, tried, and hanged. 'And John Lyman was rewarded wt. a pension of 2s.6d. p. diem.'[6] The lords justices apparently made no attempt to molest John's eldest brother, William, but they did search for Thomas. They reported their lack of success in a letter to Secretary Cecil on 17 December 1598, concluding, 'we have heard the aforesaid Shelton is yet at, or about, the Court'.[7]

For a year Thomas Shelton disappears from official correspondence. Then, on 31 March 1600, the secretary of the council, Sir Geoffrey Fenton, wrote to Cecil enclosing a spy's letter from Tyrone's headquarters. It reads in part:

> William Nugent's son is here, and came hither the last Thursday. There is one Shelton, a young man of Dublin, come to Tyrone, and he is Father Nangle's nephew.

Fenton wrote in the margin of the letter:

> The brother of this Shelton was executed the last year for Lapley's cause [the Dublin Castle case]. Father Nangle is a friar of great reverence amongst the Papists here.[8]

'William Nugent's son' was Richard, a young nobleman whose father

[5] *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, ed. J. T. Gilbert (Dublin, 1891), Vols. I & II; *Visitations*, Vol. II, No. 48 (Dublin, 1607), Genealogical Office, Dublin Castle; Trinity College, Dublin, MSS. F.4.18, F.3.2, I.1.3; Walter Harris, *The History and Antiquities of the City of Dublin* (Dublin, 1766), pp. 503 ff.; Henry E. Berry, 'Minute Book of the Corporation of Dublin, Known as the Friday Book, 1576–1611', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* XXX (1913), Sec. C, No. 21, pp. 11 ff.

[6] William Farmer, *Chronicles of Ireland*, *Harleian* MS. 3544, British Museum; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury*, VIII, 412; *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, CCII, Pt. 3, 135.

[7] *Cal.S.P.I.* CCII, Pt. 4, 33.

[8] *Ibid.* CCVII, Pt. 2, 63.

had been forced to flee Ireland some years before for political-religious reasons and on his return had been imprisoned. William's elder brother (Richard's uncle) was Sir Christopher Nugent, Baron Delvin, who, on paper at least, was loyal to Queen Elizabeth. Father Peter Nangle, O.F.M., member of another well-known Anglo-Irish family, was, by some accounts, the master mind of the Dublin Castle plot.[9] He had been guardian of the Franciscan Convent at Armagh and long active in the Catholic cause. His sister Margaret was the wife of Henry Shelton and the mother of Thomas. Through her family Thomas was also distantly related to the Nugents.[10]

On 14 August 1600 Lord Chancellor Loftus wrote an urgent letter to Cecil enclosing a spy's note telling of the departure of Richard Nugent and Shelton for Scotland. Loftus says in part:

> Two of the parties named in it are men of good account, I mean Stainhurst and Nugent, the one named Walter being brother to Richard Stainhurst, the learned physician who is with the King of Spain, and the other called Richard Nugent is eldest son to William Nugent, brother to the Lord of Delvin, which Richard by his mother shall be a good inheritor in the Pale. The other, named Shelton, is he of whom Sir Robert Gardener and myself heretofore wrote to your Honour in Lapley's cause, having then intelligence that he was at Court, under pretence to be cured of the Queen's evil. One of his brothers was executed with Lapley, and this young man hath been a good while in Tyrone with his treacherous uncle the Friar Nangle. I have made the more haste to let your Honour understand hereof, for that they departing so lately and going wholly through Scotland (where I doubt not they will think themselves very secure) there may be some good means used to have them apprehended there.[11]

That the two young men did leave in August is doubtful, for reasons to be shown presently, but that they intended to is confirmed by two letters that were written to introduce Nugent to the patronage of the King of Spain. One is from Tyrone and one from a fellow rebel leader, Rory O'Donnell, Count Tyrconnel. Part of Red Hugh's letter translates as follows:

> Richard Nugent is coming to Spain to kiss Your Majesty's hands and to enter the royal service. Because his father lies in prison, he does not dare serve Your Majesty in Ireland, lest his father suffer more cruelty. He is a gentleman of the highest rank. . . .

The endorsement reads, 'Donegal a 18 de Sept. Rcd al 24 de mayo 1601'.

[9] *Ibid.* CCII, Pt. 3, 135; Hist. MSS. Comm., *Calendar Salisbury MSS.* VII, 218.

[10] *Pedigrees*, XVII, 383, and *Funeral Entries*, I, 64, Gen. Off., Dublin Castle. The Earl of Essex knew Father Nangle (*Cal.S.P.I.* CCV, 210) and Sir John Harington met him on his visit to Tyrone's headquarters in the fall of 1599 (*Nugae antiquae*, ed. 1792, II, 3).

[11] *Cal.S.P.I.* CCVII, Pt. 4, 72. Richard Stanyhurst also contributed a poem to Verstegan's *Restitution*.

Tyrone's letter is dated 11 August 1600.[12] That Shelton is not mentioned in either letter is disappointing, but not unexpected. He was just a merchant's son; Nugent was of the nobility. And Nugent, it may be presumed, knew just what he wanted of Philip—a post in the Irish Regiment in Flanders. This he received with a promptness which attests the influence of his sponsors.[13] Shelton was not a man of war, rather a young man of scholarly attainments who, by trailing along with Nugent, and probably acting as his interpreter, could hope to find some employment more suited to his education and tastes.

The reason for thinking that Nugent and Shelton did not leave Ireland in August 1600 is that Shelton's greatest indiscretion, politically speaking, did not occur until 16 January 1601. On that date he sent a signed letter to Florence MacCarthy, an Irish nobleman whom the English considered only slightly less dangerous than the Earl of Tyrone. It reads:

> Mine honourable Lord, by direction of the archbishop of Dublin [Fray Mateo de Oviedo], and at the request of MacDonough, your agent here, I did write a letter addressed to the King of Spain, subscribed by him, in which he did signify how by your direction he made proffer of your service to His Majesty, the copy of which letter goeth here inclosed. [This copy is lost.] What the news and hopes of Spain are, the bearer will fully inform you. This only rests, that as I have ever desired to serve your Lordship, so now, finding the opportunity of this bearer, I would not omit so fit an occasion to kisse your honourable hands, and signifie that respect I have ever borne towards you; God preserve and assist you in all your designes, that wee may liue to see accomplished by you, these things which your noble beginnings give assured hope. From Donegal this Tuesday the 16 of January, 1601.[14]

This letter, together with an English translation of another from the 'Archbishop of Dublin' to MacCarthy, was intercepted and turned over to Sir George Carew. These letters, documentary evidence of treason, were widely circulated after June 1601 when Carew captured MacCarthy and sent him to the Tower of London—a place MacCarthy could

[12] Archivo General de Simancas, 'Secretario de Estado', *Leg.* 236: 'Richardo Nugento vase para españa, a besar de vrã mag.d las manos y a emplearse en su real servicio, que por quedar su padre en prision no oso servir a vrã mag.d aqui porque no usen de mas crueldad con su padre, es cavallero muy principal. . . .' Tyrconnel's letter is in the same *legajo*.

[13] Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels, 'Secretaire D'État et de Guerre, Registre des Patentes . . . Concernant les Trouppes', XX, 66. The order from Archduke Albert is dated 'siete de Junio 1601'.

[14] *Cal.S.P.I.* CCVIII, Pt. 3, 24; copies, substantially the same, are in *Carew MSS. at Lambeth Palace*, ed. Brewer and Bullen, III, 523; Cambridge University Library, *MSS. Letters Concerning Ireland*, K.K.1.15, and Stafford, *Pacata Hibernia*, 1633 (ed. of London, 1846), p. 169).

well call his second home. Shelton and Nugent must have left Ireland soon after this letter was written, for on 18 June 1601 a spy named W. Udall, in writing to Cecil, speaks of 'the sending into Spain of the Baron of Skrine, the Baron of Delvin's nephew [Richard Nugent], with one of Friar Nangle's nephews to attend him [Shelton]'.[15]

The next mention, tantalizing in its brevity, occurs three years later. The two young men may never have gone all the way to Spain. If they did, they returned to the Spanish territory in the Low Countries—Nugent to enter the Irish Regiment, and Shelton to seek a way of making a living. In February 1604 Father Christopher Cusack, president of the five Irish colleges then in operation in the Low Countries, convened a capitular assembly at the institution in Douai. Among the distinguished group present, largely clergymen, was 'Thomas Skelton'. Since the chapter book of the college is now lost, the event is known only from a transcription made by Ware. The group 'proceeded to elect Prefects and coadjutors, assistants to the several colleges in Flanders'.[16] Shelton was related to the Cusacks and, as will appear later, this is not the only occasion that he and Father Cusack are mentioned together. It is a fair presumption that Thomas was teaching in one of the colleges.

Meanwhile Shelton's friend Richard Nugent was apparently not kept so busy soldiering that he could not indulge a fancy for writing verse. In 1604 there was printed in London,

RICH: NVGENTS *Cynthia.* CONTAINING Direful Sonnets, Madrigalls, and passionate intercourses, describing *his repudiate affections expressed* in Loues owne Language. *Non ad imitandem, sed ad precauendum.* Disce ex me. LONDON Printed by T. P. for Henrie Tomes, and are to be sould at his shop by Graies Inne new gate in *Holborne. 1604.*[17]

Among the nostalgic verses about Ireland, 'my western home', by the author 'who blaz'd her name in forraine soiles', and the 'direful' sonnets and madrigals in the manner of Sir Philip Sidney and Samuel Daniel, are several contributions by Nugent's friends. One is 'Maister Thomas Sheltons answer to the 4. Madrigall of the first part'. (In the fourth madrigal Nugent had complained about his feeble poetic style.) Shelton writes:

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[15] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Cal. Salisbury MSS.* XI, 238.

[16] *The Whole Works of Sir James Ware concerning Ireland,* Translated into English by Walter Harris, Esq. (Dublin, 1764), p. 252; see also Rev. John Brady, 'Christopher Cusack and the Irish College of Douai', *Miscellany of Historical and Linguistic Studies in Honour of Brother Michael O Cléirigh, O.F.M.*, ed. Sylvester O'Brien, O.F.M. (Dublin, 1944), p. 101.

[17] See *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London* (London, 1876), III, 110.

What wight saw captiue stile so comfortable,
As that, which thou didst send to me this morne,
Stile, that t'enchant the gods them selues were able,
O that such rare conceipt, should maske in sable,
which ought with glorie crownd, to be vpborne,
Vnto the heauens, and plac'd at *Ioues* high table:
Fortune, which euermore hath beene vnstable,
Enui'd thy vertues, and thy great perfection,
when she inchain'd thy heart, in such subiection,
Of one, that is to pay thy loue vnable,
with other thing, then dumbe shewes of affection.[18]

Although this verse, as well as that in Verstegan's *Restitution*, is as conventional as it is mediocre, it does establish that *this* Thomas Shelton, as well as knowing enough Spanish to write letters for Irish nobles to the King of Spain, had an interest in things literary. It also suggests 'a deere friend' with whom Shelton exchanged verses and for whom, I believe, he dashed off his *Quixote*.

Nine years pass before Shelton's name appears again in documents. Meanwhile he had made his translation, presumably in 1607, and had it published by Edward Blount in London in 1612. On 26 January 1613 the papal secretary, Cardinal Borghese, wrote from the Vatican to Cardinal Barberini, the French nuncio, asking him to investigate a scandalous accusation sent the pope by an angry Irish priest, Gelasius Lorcan. According to Father Lorcan, Father Christopher Cusack and Father John Roche (the personal chaplain of Archbishop Bentivoglio, nuncio in Brussels), were collecting information about loyal Catholics and secretly passing it to the English agent in Brussels by means of 'Thomas Stertone'.[19] This allegation, patently ridiculous as far as Roche and Cusack are concerned, soon inspired letters of explanation from friends of the accused. Three of these are extant and one, from Archbishop Bentivoglio, contains a valuable paragraph on Shelton:

As regards Thomas Shelton, I know that he has lived in Flanders for several years, always thought of as an honorable gentleman, and that his father, after being imprisoned for nine consecutive years for his Catholic faith, died in prison a very true Catholic; and his brother was put to death because of an attempt to gain control of Dublin Castle for Count Tyrone. These things have been affirmed to me by Shelton. . . .[20]

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[18] Pp. D3^{v} and D4^{r}. For my lead to this 'unknown' poem of Shelton's I am indebted to the unpublished bibliography of dedicatory poems compiled by Prof. F. B. Williams of Georgetown University. Only two copies of the *Cynthia* are known, one in the Henry E. Huntington Library and one in the British Museum. The book is only 28 pages in length.

[19] Brady, *op. cit.*, p. 109, who cites Vatican MSS., *Archivo Particolare*, 89.

[20] 'Cuanto a Thomaso Sheltone, intendo, ch'egli ha viuvio alcuni anni in Fiandra sem-

Father Lorcan may have been the troublemaker that Cardinal Bentivoglio said he was, but there really was some fire beneath all the smoke. From an entirely new source we discover that in 1612, or perhaps a little earlier, Shelton had made the acquaintance of William Trumbull, the English representative in Brussels. There is no account of how this happened, but the acquaintance eventually ripened into friendship. And because Trumbull saved his correspondence, we today have eight personal letters written by Shelton to him, as well as a few passing allusions in the letters of others of Trumbull's correspondents. There is nothing to indicate that Father Lorcan's accusation (that Shelton was a spy) is true, but in those troubled years one finds Irishmen selling their swords to both sides and Irishmen spying on both sides. The web of secret intelligencers that Lord Salisbury inherited from his father and promoted himself is astounding. Anything was possible. But extensive search has so far failed to turn up Shelton's name on any of the lists of these intelligencers. To me Shelton seems a rather naive idealist whose well-intentioned actions laid him open to the suspicions of men like Lorcan.

Trumbull's attitude towards Shelton in the early days of their association is clearly revealed in part of a letter Trumbull wrote to James's secretary of state, Lord Salisbury. It is dated 13 February 1612:

> Some of the Irish living in these parts who pretend to be much devoted to his Ma$^{ty's}$ service, especially one Tho. Shelton and Captain Rathfert have dealt with me very earnestly to make an overture to your L. for the reconciliation of the Earl of Tyrone to his Ma$^{ty's}$ favour, as authorised thereunto by letters from himself. . . . Neither am I so presumptuous at this present (being altogether ignorant of his Ma$^{ty's}$ pleasure in that behalf and the present estate of the affairs of Ireland) as to entertain it, being a matter for which I have no charge, but only by way of discourse to keep them in their devotion to his Ma^{ty} and to understand by their means as much as may be how practices do pass between them and the Spaniards . . . Mr. Shelton hath entreated me to give conveyance to a letter of his to your L. . . . and because I could [not] conveniently refuse him so small a courtesy I make bold for the causes above mentioned, to send it herewithal, to be read or suppressed as to your L. wisdom it shall seem convenient.[21]

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pre in concetto d'honorato gentilhuomo, e che suo padre doppo esser stato none anno continui in priggione per sa fede Cattolica, mori nelle carceri molto cattolicamente; e che un suo fratillo su fatto morire, perche tente di far' impadronire il Conte di Tirone del Castillo di Dublin. Queste cose ni vengono affirmate dello Sheltone. . . .' (Vatican Library, *MSS. Barberini-Latini*, 6806, 75). The other two letters are in *MSS.* 8626, 11 and 53. See also Catholdus Giblin, O.F.M., 'Vatican Library: A Guide to the Material of Irish Interest on Microfilm in the National Library', *Archivium Hibernicum* XVIII (1955), pp. 67 ff., and Brady, *loc. cit.*

[21] Hist. MSS. Comm., *Report on the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Downshire* (London, 1938), III, 236.

Shelton's letter to Salisbury begins with a mixture of obsequiousness and flattery appropriate for the occasion. If the secretary will carry out Shelton's proposal,

> . . . this act wilbee an ornament and crowne to all the others w^{ch} you haue done and will make y^{or} name to bee remembred in tymes to come with teares and blissings. Mr. Cusacke President of all the Irish Seminaries of these parts intreated mee to write to Y^{or} Lords. humbly requesting that it would please yo^{u} to deale with his Ma^{tie} to tollerate as muche as is possible wth religion in Irelande, yielding certaine very waightie and urgent reasons for the same (of w^{ch} I thinke M^{r} Trumbul will treate more extensly) and promiseth in liewe thereof to undertake, to bring all the religious men, and priests of that kingdome, to take theyr corporall oathes to bee trewe unto his Ma^{tie} and never to concur directly or indirectly to any thing that may alter or alienate the people from theyr dewtyes to the crowne. The man is one, who for his integritie of lyfe, alliance wth the nobilitie, and authoritie at home and abroade, can doe most of any churchman of the nation. Beesydes w^{ch}, wee bee all so well schooled in forraine proceedings, as yf the king will but wincke at religion, the nation wilbee never againe abused by strangers. This is all that the present state of matters permits mee to write; desyreng that y^{or} Lo: will excuse my bowldnes, and receiue it from one that neither does it for interest or is any way interressable more then honour and reason shall leade hime. And thus with my bownden dewty I humbly take leaue.
>
> Y^{or} Lord^{shs} most affectionat Seruant
> Thomas Shelton[22]

The penultimate sentence could, of course, be there for reasons of policy; on the other hand, it could be the sincere statement of a man of principle who wants Lord Salisbury to know that he is not open to subornation. I prefer the latter view because it is consistent with everything I have found so far about Shelton. At the time these two letters were written Tyrone was an uneasy exile in Italy, fruitlessly negotiating with the Vatican and Spain to help him get back to Ireland.

A year later, in 1613, begins the personal correspondence between Shelton and Trumbull which has survived in the Downshire Papers. Since, as was stated in the beginning, the purpose of this paper is to identify Thomas Shelton, not to write a biography, I shall summarize and include only the parts of letters appropriate to that end.

The first extant note, dated 27 March, was written from Bruges, where Shelton was 'lodged at my cosen Richard Nangles howse'. The little town is dull and he is eager to return to Brussels. Meanwhile he sends greetings and promises to 'drinke sowndly unto alle your healthes, seing this place is onely fluent in that kind'.[23] The next, dated 4 June of

[22] Public Record Office, *State Papers, Flanders*, 77/10, Pt. 1, 177. These letters are indexed and bound but not yet calendared.

[23] *Trumbull MSS., Miscellaneous Correspondence*, Vol. v, No. 55. The Downshire Papers

the same year, is a plea for financial assistance. He has unexpectedly fallen sick and sends his 'surgeon' with the note. The latter's 'care is very great in my cure, he speakes the Latten tongue and seemes to bee a very honest man'.[24] During the summer of 1613 Shelton decided to leave Brussels and try his fortune in Paris. He was able to persuade Trumbull to write a letter of introduction for him to Sir Thomas Edmondes, the English ambassador, a letter which is interesting both for the biographical data it contains and for the way it depicts a change of heart in Trumbull from that seen in the letter to Salisbury.

This gentleman, one Thomas Shelton, euer since your L: departure out of these countryes, hath frequented my company; and for that only cause, and the respect he hath shewed, towards his Ma^tie, and the State of England, is persecuted by the barbarous Irishe, as a malefactor. He is borne of honeste and woorthie parents, and allyed to sundry of the best famillys in the English Pale. In religion he is otherwise then I coulde wish [i.e., Catholic]; but in affection a good subiect to his Ma^tie. The parte wherewith he is condemned, is his learning, the Spanish tongue, (wherein he excelleth) the French, and his experyence in the world, the affairs of Ireland; do make him recommendable in all places among men of the best qualitye. To acquire some means of being setled in some honest course to gett his liuing; he nowe repaireth into France, with a purpose in Paris, or some other university, of that kingdome, to study Phisike. For that place being most renowned, doth inuite him to make choice of that before any other. And his humble desyer of seruing your L: as his Ma^tie Ambr there, in any thing he may: hath kindled a zeal in him to be made knowne to your L: and to liue there in yo^ur L: fauor and good opinion. Your L: in granting this suit shall therby doe a deed of charity; and oblige him by all honest means to acknowledge your goodness towards him. I am sure his carriage shall be as such as may free him from all imputation of offence. And he for his owne sake, and I for that grace; shalbe obliged to retribute our harte and thanckfullest acknowledgemente. . . .[25]

On 16 October, after arriving in Paris, Shelton wrote Trumbull to thank him.

I am not able to expresse the fauourable countenance that my lord shewed mee upon the receipte of your letter: let it suffice, it was as much as I could expect from so worthie a person, & upon the commendacions of so deere a frende. . . . I haue not showen my selfe to my ladie [Lady Edmondes], the wante of cloathes is a backward frend to mee, & keepes mee pittiously under. I was forced to come a foote from Arras hither, & indured greate paynes & wants by the way. . . .[26]

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are in the Shire Library, Reading; all quotations are made with the kind permission of the Marquess of Downshire and the assistance of Peter Walne, M.A., archivist. A more extensive discussion of Shelton's letters *per se* by Mr. J. George of Aberdeen University will appear during 1958 in the *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*. Since Mr. George's emphasis is quite different from mine, and since each of us arrived at the letters unaware of the other, we have agreed that there is room for both articles.

[24] *Ibid.*, No. 80.

[25] British Museum, *Stowe MSS.*, 174, No. 164 (Vol. IX, Edmondes Papers).

[26] *Trumbull MSS.*, V, No. 129.

A week later Shelton was still full of optimism. He writes, in part, on 23 October:

> . . . now it onely occurs, that I informe you, wth my successe since that tyme: I haue by meanes of my cosen Henry Stanihurst fownd meanes to occomodate my selfe wth a gentleman, whr I haue my diet, & chamber gratis, and I do teach hyme the Spanishe tongue whilst I do expect a better fortune, I haue presented none of my letters yet, by reason I am so naked, I do entreate you most ernestly to write to Mr de Bealeau [a friend and regular correspondent of Trumbull's] two or three words, to giue mee a 25. or 30^{tie} florins to buy a blacke plaine sute, & wth wch I hope to haue that successe, that I shall neuer neede to trowble you any more, & withall I request you to get a fauour for mee, from Mr de Aguy, mayster of the accademy ther, to his brother Mons^{r} de Beniomine, to informe hime, how I speake the Spanishe tongue, for he can gaine mee many schollers, & great acquaintance. . . .[27]

Presumably Mr. de Aguy could recommend Shelton's Spanish because the latter had taught in his academy. Five months later, on 16 March 1614, with his dreams deflated, and after what must have been a grim winter, Shelton writes in a different key. The omitted part of the letter contains general news.

> I praye you haue a care to send mee my papers when you haue taken a coppie of them; & burne the bundle of letters that I lefte of mine in your custodie. As for mine owne affayres heere, I could neuer do any thing since I came to Paris, I neuer in my lyfe mette with a nacion of so omnipotent promises, & so impotent performance as the Frenche, they be all blathers, yielding nothing but winde, & therefore I am resolued yf I can get any means to enter into the trayne of any nobleman that traueyles towards Spaine or Italie, to take that occasion of benefiting myself, seeing there is no hope for any stranger euer to rise. . . .

Later in the same letter appears the sentence which definitely links this Thomas Shelton—already an entirely logical candidate for the role of translator—with *Don Quixote*:

> . . . or yf you thinke fit, that I expect a pardon from England, I will drive of tyme untill it may bee had, for I haue a greate hope, by my Lord of Waldens meanes, to get some aduancement yf I were ther. . . .[28]

Needless to say, since there was only one Lord de Walden, this is Theophilus Howard, to whom Shelton had dedicated his translation.

On 28 March another long letter, full of woe and indecision, was sent to Trumbull, but except for reinforcing our knowledge of Shelton's yearning to go home and his nearly frantic desire for advice, and help, from Trumbull, it adds nothing new. His last letter in the Downshire Papers was composed at the end of the summer. Meanwhile Trumbull's correspondent Beaulieu had alluded to Shelton's deplorable financial

[27] *Ibid.*, No. 139.
[28] *Ibid.*, No. 34.

condition. In spite of this, Shelton succumbed to a normal human weakness and acquired 'a prettie newe wife, or as others saye, his concubine'.[29] In July Beaulieu says that 'Mr Shelton is here still hidden in a corner with his concubine and in that deplorable state as that it is told that there is one going up and downe to begge for him'.[30] Since Shelton's letter is brief and appealingly personal, I will quote it all.

Worthy Sir
My cosen Delahoyd writes to mee that you are offended with mee, and beeing wholie ignorant of the cause, I know not what excuses to forme; onely I judge that somewhat offends you, and is occasion of your long silence: yet let me intreate this fauor at your hands among all the rest, that I may haue a letter of yours, and know wherein you howld me culpable, that I may awnswer for my selfe: & direct the inclosed to my cosen delahoyd & my brother yf hee bee ther. I am now become a mesnager, & do therfor omit to write you newes by reason that Mr. Beaulieu and other haue care to preserue that office. This onely I let you understand that my pouertie distracts nothing of a generous honeste minde that is [half line torn] ... I had many profers of aduancement, & those by persons of the greatest calling, but poore or riche I will never condiscend to do an unhonest or unlawfull act, & this expecting your awnswer, I ever rest
Your most bownden and affectionat frend
Thomas Shelton[31]

And so, for lack of other information, we leave our hero—'poor but honest'. On this occasion the cliché applies in seriousness, not in jest. In time it may be possible to show that some years later Shelton gave up battling the world as a teacher of Spanish, or a messenger who would not take dirty political jobs, and went into the church. On 20 November 1629 Father Thomas Strange, guardian of the Order of St. Francis in Dublin, wrote the following as part of a letter to Father Luke Wadding, guardian in Rome:

The bearer, Friar Thomas Shelton, a native of Dublin, received the habit from me. He has been virtuous since childhood, and because we have no natives of Dublin among our subjects, I supplicated the Provincial to grant him obedience at your house. I pray your Paternity to receive him for I anticipate that he will deserve your esteem.[32]

This new career would have been in keeping with Shelton's personality as it emerges from his letters—though the 'prettie newe wife' would have to be accounted for. It also follows naturally from his education.

[29] *Ibid.*, No. 110.
[30] *Ibid.*, No. 120.
[31] *Ibid.*, VI, No. 100.
[32] 'El portador, fray Thomas Shelton, natural de Dublin, yo le recebí al hábito, y es virtuosico *ab infantia*, y porque no tenemos sujetos naturales de Dublin, suppliqué al padre provincial de diese obedientia para essa santa casa; supplico a vuestra paternidad le admitta, que espero merezerá le estimen' (*Wadding Papers*, ed. Brandon Jennings, O.F.M., Dublin, 1953, p. 320).

As for his education, the evidence is brief but satisfactory. At St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, County Kildare, are stored the records of the old Irish College at Salamanca. These were brought from Spain when the college was closed. Legajo 6 contains a manuscript with this title:

> Catalogue of the Irish alumni, who from the beginning are inscribed among the members of this seminary and college of Salamanca, which was begun in Valladolid but transferred to Salamanca by order of His Royal Majesty Philip II, 20 August in the year of the Lord 1597. This catalogue has been transferred into the book.[33]

The fifth name listed under *T*, not *S*, is 'Thomas Shelton Dublinensis'. The exact dates of Shelton's stay in college cannot, of course, be determined from this list. He must have been a student in the small group that Father White headed at Valladolid before 1597. The manuscript at Maynooth is not dated, and from the number of alumni listed it clearly covers many years. All that we know for sure is that Shelton had left in time to be in Ireland in 1598. The education received in Spain prepared the students for careers in the church, and the great majority of the men listed with Shelton took holy orders. Regrettably the extant records at the present universities of Valladolid and Salamanca have so far proved of no help.[34]

It does not seem necessary to catalogue and reject each and every Thomas Shelton whose name appears in the files of Somerset House or the Public Record Office. Wright takes care of the only other author of that name, the tachygrapher, who was a rabid Protestant with no Spanish and not enough years. The man who matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford, in 1581, is identifiable only as coming from Worcestershire. The one who carried messages to the Low Countries in 1609–1610 is, for now, just a series of entries in a royal account book.[35] He could hardly

[33] 'Catalogus Alumnorum Hibernorum qui ab initio hujus salamantini seminarij & collegij numero ascribuntur olim Valesoleti inchoati translati vero salamanticam iussu regiae majestatis Philipi Secundi. 20 Augusti anno D. 1597. esta este Catalogo trasladado al Libro.' I am indebted to Fr. Benignus Millet, O.F.M., archivist, Convent of Dún Mhuire, Killiney, County Dublin, for the translation and for assistance with the Franciscan records in his care.

[34] At Valladolid the *Matricula* volumes for the years 1590 to 1619 are lost. The records at Salamanca are more complete, but the volume for 1588–1589 of the *Matricula de los studiantes* is lacking, and, more painful, sixteen pages of the names of 'grammaticas' are gone from the 1596–1597 volume.

[35] See F. P. Wilson, 'Court Payments for Plays', *Bodleian Library Record* v (1955). Dr. David Cook, of London University, has kindly sent me a complete list of the payments to this Thomas Shelton, which will appear in his forthcoming book on the Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber.

be our Thomas who, as his letters show, did not dare return to England. The others are names on marriage, birth, or death records that cannot be linked with events or personalities. The Thomas commonly selected by the genealogists as translator was the son of Queen Elizabeth's gentleman porter of the Tower, but he was dead before 1600.[36]

The Thomas Shelton offered here as the translator has not only a local habitation and a family; he has, like a good Irishman, a wide range of cousins who help to keep him in focus. He had a college education of the sort provided for priests, though he did not at once take orders, as did most of his college mates. While at Valladolid he learned Spanish and saw something of Spain. He wrote English verse. He attempted to support himself in exile by teaching Spanish in the Low Countries and Paris. When *Don Quixote* was published in Brussels in 1607 he was living in or near that city. These facts being in evidence, the personal link established in his letter between him and Lord de Walden should be conclusive—even without any specific reference by Shelton to his translation. That reference (the Lord forbid!) may well have been in the bundle of letters he asked William Trumbull to burn on the 6th of March 1614.

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[36] Harvey, *Visitation of Norfolk* (Norfolk Arch. Soc., 1891), II, 345, and Whitaker, *loc. cit.*

Francis Bacon and the Architect of Fortune

THE most frequently read book in the library that Samuel Pepys began to collect about 1660 was a volume he called 'my dear "Faber Fortunae", of my Lord Bacon's'. This book, which he apparently read through six times between 1661 and 1666,[1] has been identified as an edition of Bacon's essays in Latin translation which was published and reprinted in duodecimo at Leyden in 1641, 1644, and 1659.[2]

The question of the identity of this work by Bacon was first raised by correspondents of *Notes & Queries* in 1886, but it was not resolved. Despite the importance of this much read book to young Pepys and to our understanding of him, only three of his eight biographers have so much as mentioned the work. None has identified it sufficiently to discuss it.

The full title of Pepys' beloved book was *Fr. Baconis de Verulamio Sermones Fideles, Ethici, Politici, Œconomici: Sive Interiora Rerum. Accedit Faber Fortunae &c.* (it is *Accedunt Faber Fortunae, Colores Boni et Mali, &c* in the 1644 and 1659 editions). It comprised the fifty-six Latin essays, together with five, later six, consecutively numbered 'essays' from the *De augmentis scientiarum*, including 'Precepts for the Wise Ordering of the Mind'; 'On Civil Conversation'; 'Some Counsels concerning Negotiation, from some of the Proverbs of Solomon'; 'The Architect of Fortune or Doctrine concerning Advancement in Life'; 'Of Certainty of Laws, by Aphorisms'; and 'Colors of Good and Evil, both Simple and Comparative'.[3]

[1] *Diary*, 18 May 1661, 20 July 1663, 5 February 1664, 14 March 1666, 20 May 1666, 10 August 1666. See also entry on 29 October 1666 concerning his brother's translation of 'my Lord Bacon's "Faber Fortunae" '.

[2] See my note, 'Bacon, Pepys, and the *Faber Fortunae*', *N&Q*, N.S. III (1956), 511–514. These editions came from the well-known printing house of Francis Hackius in Leyden, but who there devised the format and under what circumstances I have not learned.

[3] These fragments from the *De augmentis* will be found in *The Philosophical Works of*

The appeal to Samuel Pepys of the subject matter of Bacon's 'faber fortunae' or architect of fortune, as he found it collected in the small volume, is beyond question. It will be the purpose of this paper to discuss Bacon's sources for the doctrine, its nature and place in *The Advancement of Learning*, the *De augmentis*, and the *Essays*, and to say something about the commentaries on this doctrine since Pepys' time.

I

The fascination for Bacon of the Roman adage, *Faber quisque fortunae suae*, or his translation, 'The mould of a Mans fortune is in himself', is evident in its recurrence, with increasing amplification, in Bacon's works. It first occurs in his *Discourse touching Helps for the Intellectual Powers*, addressed to his friend Sir Henry Savile some time between 1596 and 1604. There Bacon wrote:

> I did ever hold it for an insolent and unlucky saying, *Faber quisque suae fortunae*, except it be uttered only as a hortative or spur to correct sloth . . . But if the sentence were turned to this, *Faber quisque ingenii sui*, it were somewhat more true and much more profitable; because it would teach men to bend themselves to reform those imperfections in themselves, which now they seek but to cover; and to attain those virtues and good parts, which now they seek but to have only in shew and demonstration.[4]

Bacon repeated the adage in *The Advancement of Learning* of 1605, developing it in an extended passage as 'a new and unwonted argument to teach men how to raise and make their fortune'. It next occurred, in translation only, in the essay 'Of Fortune', composed some time between 1607 and 1612 and extant in Harleian MS. 5106. This manuscript essay, with slight alterations, was printed in the 1612 edition of the *Essays*.[5]

The *faber fortunae* passage, somewhat expanded and reorganized, appeared next as a separate chapter in the Latin translation of *The Advancement of Learning*, published in 1623 as *De dignitate et augmentis scientiarum*. The aphorism and its adumbration in the essay 'Of Fortune' appeared again in Bacon's final English edition of the *Essays* in 1625, and in their Latin translation, supervised by Bacon and published posthumously in William Rawley's edition of the *Opera moralia et civilia* in 1638.

Francis Bacon, ed. J. M. Robertson (London, 1905), pp. 575–577, 580–581, 582–593, 594–606, 613–630, 537–545. Unless otherwise noted, page references to Bacon's works in the text, including the matter of the *Sermones fideles* (i.e., Pepys' 'Faber fortunae'), will be to this edition.

[4] Bacon's *Works*, ed. Spedding, Ellis, and Heath (London, 1862–1876), VII, 98–99.

[5] *A Harmony of the Essays, etc. of Francis Bacon*, ed. E. Arber (London, 1871), pp. 374–380.

Turning to the sources and analogues of the title of Pepys' book, we find Bacon giving four forms of the phrase the second time he uses it, in *The Advancement of Learning* (p. 154):

> For there is a wisdom of counsel, and again there is a wisdom of pressing a man's own fortune; and they do sometimes meet, and often sever. For many are wise in their own ways that are weak for government or counsel. . . . This wisdom [for oneself] the Romans did take much knowledge of: *Nam pol sapiens* (saith the comical poet) *fingit fortunam sibi* [the wise man fashions his fortune for himself]; and it grew to an adage, *Faber quisque fortunae propriae* [every man has tools to make his own fortune with], and Livy attributeth it to Cato the first, *In hoc viro tanta vis animi et ingenii inerat, ut quocunque loco natus esset, sibi ipse fortunam facturus videretur* [such was his force of mind and genius that in whatever state he had been born he would have made himself a fortune].

And a page later:

> But yet nevertheless these positions, *Faber quisque fortunae suae; Sapiens dominabitur astris; Invia virtuti nulla est via* [every man should be the maker of his own fortune; the wise man will command his stars; nothing impossible to virtue]: and the like, being taken and used as spurs to industry, and not as stirrups to insolency, rather for resolution than for presumption or outward declaration, have been ever thought sound and good, and are no question imprinted in the greatest minds; who are so sensible of this opinion as they can scarce contain it within.

In the *De augmentis* these passages appear almost intact (pp. 593, 594).

Bacon's 'architect of fortune' metaphor appears to have been a Roman commonplace. In Rome, the idea of the superior man as master of his own fortune was integral in the cult of the goddess Fortuna, an idea that was to disappear with the approach of the middle ages.[6] Bacon's annotators agree that he believed the source of the metaphor to be in the *Trinummus* of Plautus, who, it has been conjectured, found the idea in the ethical philosophy of Greek new comedy. In the second act of the *Trinummus*, a Polonius-like parent advises his son:

> Nam sapiens quidem pol ipsus fingit fortunam sibi: eo non multa quae nevolt eveniunt nisi fictor malust.
>
> For I tell you, a man, a wise man, moulds his own destiny: so not much happens to him that he does not want, unless he be a poor moulder.[7]

Samuel H. Reynolds, in his standard edition of Bacon's *Essays* (1890), said the phrase as adage is generally attributed now to Appius Claudius Caecus, a writer of moral maxims living a century before Plautus. Thus

[6] Howard R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature* (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 23–24 and n. 4.

[7] *Plautus*, tr. Paul Nixon (Loeb Classical Library), v, 132–133.

in Sallust's *Ad Caesarem senem de re publica oratio*: 'Sed res docuit id verum esse, quod in carminibus Appius ait, fabrum esse suae quemque fortunae [but experience has shown that to be true which Appius says in his verses, that every man is the architect of his own fortune].' The third form of the metaphor, which Bacon ascribed to Livy's characterization of Cato the Elder, comes from the *Ab urbe condita*, Book XXXIX, 40.[8] The fourth is a simple variant, with *suae* substituted for *propriae*.

In addition to these direct sources in the classics, which Bacon may have copied into the commonplace books he kept from his youth onward,[9] the metaphor or its substance was immediately familiar to him through the writings of Machiavelli, as well as two of his contemporaries. Machiavelli is the principal exponent of the new egoistic attitude towards fortune in the Renaissance, insisting that 'the wise man [i.e., he who is prudent and conforms to the times] rules the stars and the Fates', and that princes 'should blame for the loss of [their positions] not Fortune, but their own worthlessness'.[10] In his *Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius*, a favorite political work with Bacon, Machiavelli wrote:

> Fortune, doubtless, when she seeks to effect great ends, will often choose as her instrument a man of such sense and worth that he can recognize the opportunities which she holds out to him.

And again:

> I have repeatedly noted that the good or bad fortune of men depends on whether their methods of acting accord with the character of the times. . . . He . . . will make fewest mistakes, and may expect to prosper most, who, while following the course to which nature inclines him, finds . . . his method of acting in accordance with the times in which he lives.[11]

Bacon's father, Sir Nicholas, is reported to have quoted the Roman adage frequently. Sir Robert Naunton, in his *Fragmenta Regalia*, says of Sir Nicholas that 'He would say, That though he knew, Unusquisque suae fortunae faber, was a true and good principle; yet the most in num-

[8] *The Essays . . . of Francis Bacon*, ed. S. H. Reynolds (Oxford, 1890), pp. 284–285; *Sallust*, tr. J. C. Rolfe (Loeb Library), pp. 444–445; *Livy*, tr. E. T. Sage (Loeb Library), XI, 348–349.

[9] William G. Crane, *Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance* (New York, 1937), pp. 140–147, discusses Bacon's commonplace books and their relation to the *Essays* and the *De augmentis*.

[10] 'Letter to Pier Soderini, Jan. 1512–1513', in *The Prince and Other Works*, ed. Allan H. Gilbert (Chicago, 1941), p. 227, and *The Prince*, p. 173. See also the essay on fortune, ch. 25 in *The Prince*, and the poem 'Capitolo on Fortune', pp. 211–215.

[11] *Discourses*, tr. N. H. Thomson (London, 1883), pp. 311, 376–377.

ber were those that marred themselves'.[12] And Montaigne, whose works were well known to Bacon, thrice used the metaphor in his *Essais*. It appears in Essay I. 40, on the 'Relish of Goods and Evils', in his quotation from Sallust: '*Faber est suae quisque Fortunae*, every one is the Hammerer of his own Fortune, and an uneasy, necessitous, busy Man seems to me more miserable, than he that is simply poor'. In Essay I. 42, 'Of the Inequality amongst us', Montaigne quotes Plautus: '*Sapiens Pol ipse fingit fortunam sibi*. The wise Man his own Fortune makes. What remains for him to covet or desire?' Later in the same essay, Cornelius Nepos, first century B.C. Roman historian, is quoted as saying in his life of Atticus: '*Mores cuique sui fingunt fortunam*. Himself, not Fortune, ev'ry one must blame,'| Since Men's own Manners do their Fortune's frame.'[13]

The history of the character of fortune, well told by Professor Patch and others, contains much concerning her rule over the affairs of men, little of man's mastery of her.[14] The prevailing belief in antiquity and the medieval world, and still commonly accepted in the Renaissance, was Cicero's sentence from Theophrastus, *Vitam regit fortuna, non sapientia*.[15] This attitude persisted despite the effort of Christianity, exemplified in Boethius, Dante, and Chaucer, to make fortune subservient to divine providence, through Aristotle's argument for the necessity of chance in order to permit the operation of human free will.[16] But antiquity also asserted that fortune, through the human agencies of courage, reason, prudence, virtue, or philosophy, was within the governance of man himself.

Rare in medieval thought, this notion of human superiority to fortune emerged again in the neo-classicism of the Renaissance, in Machia-

[12] Arber Reprint No. 20 (London, 1870), p. 38; Reynolds, *loc. cit.*

[13] *Corneli Nepotis Vitae*, ed. O. Winstedt (Oxford, 1904), no page. See Montaigne's *Essays*, tr. Charles Cotton (5th ed., 1738), I, 303, 314, 325. Pepys' only mention of Montaigne in the *Diary* (17 March 1668) is of his intention to buy the *Essays*.

[14] John E. Matzke, 'On the Source of the Italian and English Idioms Meaning "To take Time by the Forelock" . . .', *PMLA* VIII (1893), 303–334; Patch, 'The Tradition of the Goddess Fortuna in Roman Literature and in the Transition Period', *Smith College Studies in Mod. Lang.* III (1922), 131–177; 'The Tradition of the Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Philosophy and Literature', *ibid.* III (1922), 179–235; 'Chaucer and Lady Fortune', *MLR* XXII (1927), 377–388; Raymond Chapman, 'The Wheel of Fortune in Shakespeare's Historical Plays', *RES*, N.S. I (1950), 1–7; John Shaw, 'Fortune and Nature in *As You Like It*', *SQ* VI (1955), 45–50.

[15] Cicero, *Tusculan Disputations*, tr. J. E. King (Loeb Library), V, 9 (pp. 450–451). Quoted in Montaigne's 'Of Vanity', III, 241.

[16] Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature*, pp. 16–19, 30–31.

velli and Montaigne. In England, the egoistic attitude towards fortune, which was destined to become an article of middle-class morality, was heard in the voice of the rebel citizen Jack Cade, in *A Mirror for Magistrates* (1559):

> Shall I call it fortune or my froward folly
> That lifted me and laid me down below?
> Or was it courage that me made so jolly,
> Which of the stars' and body's 'greement grow?
> Whichever it were, this one point sure I know,
> Which shall be meet for every man to mark:
> *Our* lusts and wills our evils chiefly wark.

In Shakespeare, the traditional attitude of submission to the dictates of the stars and the wheel of fortune is everywhere; it is Cassius who may be said to represent the new naturalism, the opportunistic modern, with his counsel: 'The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, | But in ourselves, that we are underlings'. It is a lost Brutus, the thrall of Cassius, who exclaims in the accents of Machiavelli:

> There is a tide in the affairs of men
> Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
> Omitted, all the voyage of their life
> Is bound in shallows and in miseries.

For Francis Bacon, the Roman adage was not simply an argument for prudence or virtue, nor did he, like Machiavelli, consider fortune the particular concern of princes and states, or, like Shakespeare, the fickle deity in the lives of kings and desperate men. 'Fortune and advancement', he said, are not 'confined . . . only to states and commonwealths', but are within the grasp of 'particular persons' as well (p. 73). Fortune molds the lives of all men, or might be molded by them, if they but had the rule and method for her winning. As Cicero had set down the precepts for the perfect orator, Machiavelli for the prince, Castiglione for the courtier, and Elyot for the governor, so he would supply the precepts for the politic man, that is, the man 'politic for his own fortune' (pp. 164, 604). These precepts, said Bacon, were to be found in a true consideration of the moral and civil nature of man.

II

The new humanism of Bacon is nowhere more pronounced than in his reflections on *gnothi seauton*, 'know thyself', as applied to the architect of fortune. In *The Advancement of Learning* and the *De augmentis*, Bacon's array of arguments was directed no less to freeing man from bondage to

the moral philosophers of antiquity than to its natural philosophers. Even more than natural philosophy, moral philosophy had been unproductive, because in confining their speculations to the ideal nature of man and its attainment—that 'doctrine of the philosophers' heaven'—the philosophers had diverted attention from the soluble problems of man as he really is (pp. 133 ff., 478, 562–566). It was for that reason, said Bacon, 'that we are much beholden to Machiavel and others, that write what men do and not what they ought to do' (pp. 140, 570).

As much as in natural philosophy, there was wanting a *novum organum* for the investigation of human philosophy, giving directions for the proper employment or use of man in both his moral (private) and civil (public) aspects (pp. 143, 573). In the practical pursuit of 'the *knowledge of ourselves*', said Bacon, it is necessary 'to set down sound and true distributions and descriptions of the several characters and tempers of men's natures and dispositions', a part of knowledge hitherto 'omitted both in Morality and Policy' (pp. 101, 142–143, 572–573). The best doctors of this knowledge are the poets and writers of histories who paint forth with great life

> how affections are kindled and incited; and how pacified and refrained; and how again contained from act and further degree; how they disclose themselves, how they work, how they vary, how they gather and fortify, how they are inwrapped one within another, and how they do fight and encounter one with another, and other the like particularities,

all of which are 'of special use in moral and civil matters' (pp. 144, 574). Knowing these things, we may discover 'what is in our power and what is not', and how to alter what is in our power and apply what is not (pp. 142, 572). And at this point Bacon gives a series of precepts for directing the will and appetite and altering manners, and so concludes this part of moral knowledge.

Bacon turns next to civil knowledge, which, as he says, is the external application of moral knowledge (pp. 149, 579). With relatively brief discussions of two aspects of civil knowledge, conversation or the counsel of behavior, and government or statecraft, which he finds have been adequately or even elegantly handled in the past, Bacon directs his principal attention to the third aspect, negotiation or business, 'wherein man's life is most conversant', and which has 'not been hitherto collected into writing, to the great derogation of learning and the professors of learning' (pp. 150, 581). For this wisdom of policy there have been few or no precepts in the past except those concealed in the aphorisms of

Solomon, although they may be extracted from the letters and lives of men, as the precepts of morality are to be found in the poets and historians (pp. 154, 593).

It becomes clear, as Bacon expands on the theme of negotiation, separating it into the 'wisdom of counsel' or precepts in the general conduct of life and the 'wisdom of pressing a man's own fortune', that this is for him the most important, because most persuasive, section in his examination of the state of human philosophy, just as the promise of useful discoveries through experimentation is the telling argument in the inquiry into natural philosophy. For as all men desire to mold nature to human use and benefit, so all men desire self-advancement, but in neither case have they discovered a method by which they might aim at their ends systematically and scientifically.

Setting out a doctrine 'to teach men how to raise and make their fortune' therefore constituted 'a new and unwonted argument', for despite the magnitude of the subject and its importance, there were no books upon it, and like the study of the true behavior of man, it had ever been despised by learned men as an ordinary and common matter, inferior to the pursuit of virtue and an enemy to meditation (pp. 133, 150, 155, 562–566, 594).

This doctrine Bacon first outlined in a collection of precepts in *The Advancement of Learning* (pp. 155–165). In its slightly expanded form in the *De augmentis* (pp. 594–606), it comprised that part of Pepys' copy of the *Sermones fideles* that led him to call his book 'my Lord Bacon's "Faber Fortunae" '. Since the other appended sections from the *De augmentis*, like the Latin *Essays* that precede them, constitute for the most part direct or peripheral elaborations and illustrations of these precepts, the order of discussion of Pepys' book that follows will be the *faber fortunae* treatise, the appended extracts, and finally the *Essays* themselves.

The two summary precepts of the 'Architecture of Fortune', as Pepys read in the treatise, were to obtain, as far as one can, an intimate knowledge of others and an intimate knowledge of oneself. The ways to knowledge of others, in order to learn their strengths and weaknesses, are six: directly, through their countenances, words, deeds, dispositions, ends, and purposes, and indirectly, through reports of others. The architect must trust countenances and deeds rather than words, yet examine the motives of deeds, and not despise words when uttered hastily or in passion. The surest key to others is observing their natures and intentions and the ends they seek in what they do. The architect should also study

the faults of men from the evidence of their enemies, their virtues and opinions from their friends, and their customs through their servants. The best way to achieve this knowledge of others is 'to have a general acquaintance with those who have a varied and extensive knowledge both of persons and things . . . to keep a discreet temper and mediocrity both in liberty of speech and in secrecy . . . [and to achieve and maintain] such a watchful and ready habit of mind, that in every conference and action he may both carry on the matter in hand, and also observe other incidents' (pp. 595–598).

The way to knowledge of oneself, said Bacon, is 'to take an accurate and impartial survey of [one's] own abilities, virtues, and helps; and again, of [one's] wants, inabilities, and impediments'. Knowing his own nature, the architect has six considerations in making this knowledge effective. He must consider how his nature conforms with the general state of the times, and whether therefore he will have scope and liberty in which to exercise his talents or must apply restraint. In order to excel, he must choose his profession or course of life, his friends, and his models in conformity with his own nature, assessing himself carefully in comparison with his rivals and equals (pp. 598–599).

Some twelve other precepts follow, subserving these initial rubrics for self-advancement. Next to understanding himself, the architect must learn how to reveal the best side of himself to others, by valuing himself in their presence without undue ostentation; by taking the initiative when action is called for, without overboldness; and by speaking of his own intentions and pretensions boldly, but in a natural and pleasant manner (pp. 599–600). On the other hand, said Bacon, 'a diligent covering of defects is of no less importance than a prudent and skilful display of virtues'. This may be done by caution in avoiding tasks too great; by 'colour' or tinging every defect with a hue of some corresponding virtue, representing his dullness as gravity, his cowardice as mildness, and the like; and by exhibiting confidence under all circumstances and brazen confidence under adverse circumstances (p. 600). Correlative with this, the architect must observe a wise mediocrity in revealing or concealing the intentions of his actions, lest unwise simulation or dissimulation ensnare him in predicaments he does not intend (pp. 600–601).

The architect must so frame his mind as to be pliant and obedient to occasion and opportunity, and not to be averse to change, for 'nothing is more politic than to make the wheels of the mind concentric and voluble with the wheels of fortune' (pp. 601–602). This precept completes

Bacon's discourse on the basis for establishing the architecture of fortune. There are, however, many more precepts, and he selects eight 'for example's sake'.

The 'carpenter of fortune' must learn to judge 'of the proportion and value of all things, as they conduce more or less to his fortune and ends', preferring things of substance to things of show (p. 602). In the marshalling of his energies 'for the raising and advancement of a man's own fortune', the architect must learn the order and propriety of the ends he would attain, seeking first the amendment of his mind (for success lies primarily in 'the sinews of the mind, wit, courage, audacity, resolution, temper, industry, and the like'); then the acquisition of wealth; next, of character and reputation, and lastly, of honor, the least difficult to win when any one or combination of the other ends has been attained.

In the next precept, *Fatis accede Deisque*, 'Be ruled by the Fates and the Gods', Bacon appeared no less circumspect in his thinking than his less vaulting countrymen. But here he warned only against excess of effort or confidence, lest the architect waste his strength

> on things to which convenient access is forbidden. For in this way we shall avoid repulse, not occupy ourselves too much about one matter, earn a character for moderation, offend fewer persons, and get the credit of continual success; whilst things which would perhaps have happened of themselves will be attributed to our industry (pp. 602–603).

Five more precepts, briefly stated, conclude the matter. The architect ought not always 'wait for occasions, but sometimes challenge and induce them'; at the same time, he ought 'to undertake nothing which of necessity takes up a great quantity of time, but to have this sound ever ringing in [his] ears, "time is flying" '. Thus, those who choose laborious professions like the law, the church, and the writing of books 'are not so clever in founding and promoting their own fortunes'. Further, the architect ought to do nothing in vain: 'if he cannot obtain his wishes in the best degree, he may yet be satisfied if he succeed in a second, or even a third; and if he cannot obtain them at all . . . he may turn the labour spent in it to some other end besides the one intended'. He must never engage himself 'too peremptorily in anything . . . but ever to have either a window open to fly out at, or a secret way to retire by' (p. 603). Finally, the architect is to beware of particular bias towards either friends or enemies, lest friends in the course of events should become enemies, or enemies friends (pp. 603–604).

Such then, in brief, were the precepts that Samuel Pepys read which 'relate to the improvement of a man's own fortune, and may serve each man for a private notebook or register of his own affairs' (p. 581).

Bacon had no illusions about the difficulties of following his precepts; like all inquiries into truth and wisdom, the terms were easy but their execution was only for the ardent.

> For the things necessary for the acquisition of fortune are neither fewer or less difficult nor lighter than those to obtain virtue; and it is as hard and severe a thing to be a true politician, as to be truly moral (p. 594).

And he warned against the principle of Machiavelli (though he quoted it in full), that one 'should not trouble himself to attain [virtue], but only the appearance thereof to the world, because the credit and reputation of virtue is a help, but the use of it is an impediment.'[17] Nor did Bacon have any illusions about the true intellectual or spiritual worth of the pursuit of fortune.

> Not however that learning admires or esteems this architecture of fortune otherwise than as an inferior work. For no man's fortune can be an end worthy of the gift of being that has been given him by God; and often the worthiest men abandon their fortunes willingly, that they may have leisure for higher pursuits. But nevertheless, fortune as an instrument of virtue and merit deserves its own speculation and doctrine (pp. 594–595).

Again and again he warned of insolence to fortune; she was to be won and kept by art and cunning. Moreover, it was with fortune and men as it was with nature, that in order to command you must first learn to obey (pp. 259, 300). This was that 'morigeration' or application, implicit throughout the precepts, which a man seeking his fortune must make to the goddess or to those who can help him to advancement, and which so many of Bacon's commentators have misunderstood and deplored.[18]

There is an element of arbitrary selection in several of the five remaining fragments from the *De augmentis* grouped around this *faber fortunae*

[17] Page 604. But see p. 579 for Bacon's approximation: 'moral philosophy propounds to itself to imbue and endow the mind with internal goodness; but civil knowledge requires only an external goodness, for that suffices for society'.

[18] For Bacon on morigeration and fortune, see p. 53. Edwin A. Abbott, in his *Francis Bacon, an Account of His Life and Works* (London, 1885), pp. 157, 323–328, is the most detailed in his criticism of Baconian morigeration. In the many works deriving from Bacon's treatise on fortune, morigeration is perhaps best exemplified in Chesterfield's advice to his son on the necessity of cultivating 'the art of pleasing [which] is, in truth, the art of rising . . . of making a figure and a fortune in the world' (*The Letters of Lord Chesterfield*, ed. B. Dobree, London, 1932, v, 2025–2026).

treatise in Pepys' book. Not so the first, on 'Precepts for the Wise Ordering of the Mind' (pp. 575–577), which, deriving from Bacon's criticism of traditional moral philosophy, consists of rules which are in our command to acquire for the right exercising of the will and appetite. These precepts apply directly to the concern of the architect of fortune with self-knowledge and relate to 'the things that rule in morals', as 'custom, exercise, habit, education, imitation, emulation, company, friendship, praise, reproof, exhortation, fame, laws, books, studies, and the like' (p. 574). Like the fragment itself, this list first appeared in *The Advancement of Learning* (pp. 145–148), whence many of its subjects were destined to be elaborated upon in the successive editions of the *Essays*. Other lists of subjects pertinent to the architect and subsequently found among the *Essays* appear, in italics, on pages 143 and 144.

The next fragment, on 'Civil Conversation' (pp. 580–581), like the later one on government or 'Of Certainty of Laws' (pp. 613–630), concerned the other two aspects of civil knowledge (negotiation was the third) which Bacon had only touched on in *The Advancement of Learning* (pp. 149–150, 165–167). Civil conversation or the management of speech and carriage, 'an important influence in business', had been adequately treated in the past and the advice here was brief. But in the matter of statecraft, which had otherwise been well handled, there were wanting rules on the making and application of civil laws, and in *The Advancement of Learning* Bacon said he had 'begun a work of this nature in aphorisms' which he intended to propound at a later time. These aphorisms appear as the fifth of the fragments appended to Pepys' edition of the *Sermones fideles*, although their matter has only a remote relation to the interests of the architect of fortune, as we conceive them, however pertinent that matter may have seemed at the time.

Here it may be remarked that where in *The Advancement of Learning* of 1605 Bacon ventured no more than hints that he intended a later *novum organum* for the inquiry into natural philosophy, in human philosophy he had already set out fairly complete directions for a new method of inquiry into moral and civil knowledge, and had by him directions for a new consideration of civil law, indications doubtless of Bacon's interest in his own personal advancement at that time.

The extract following that on conversation and entitled 'Some Counsels concerning Negotiation' (pp. 582–593) expanded a similar section in *The Advancement of Learning* (pp. 151–153). It consisted of thirty-four proverbs of Solomon, each followed by a dilation on its application to

the general conduct of life. Many of the precepts in Bacon's commentary supplement those of the *faber fortunae* treatise, and the matter in general often impinges on that in the later enlarged editions of the *Essays*.

The last of the fragments, the 'Colours of Good and Evil' (pp. 537–545), appeared originally as an appendage to the *Essays* of 1597, was mentioned briefly in *The Advancement of Learning* (p. 129), and in its expanded form in the *De augmentis* consisted of twelve sophisms of rhetoric, 'of excellent use, especially for business and the wisdom of private discourse'. Bacon's answers and elucidations of these sophisms from Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, like his applications of the proverbs of Solomon, are closely related to matters covered not only in the *faber fortunae* treatise but in many of the *Essays*. The further relations of these six appended 'essays' or fragments to the theme of *faber fortunae* will be evident in the discussion now of the essays proper.

The principal operative part of Bacon's speculations on moral and civil knowledge, the ultimate *novum organum*, as it were, of the doctrine of advancement in life, is the *Essays*. This was first remarked by Edward Arber in his *Harmony of the Essays* (1871), wherein he described them as the social counterpart of Bacon's *Novum organum*.[19]

The operating principles of the precepts for the architecture of one's fortune, Bacon had said, consisted in a just knowledge of others and of oneself, and out of this knowledge to choose a course of action such as is within one's compass to attain. The knowledge of human nature, like the knowledge of nature itself, was to be derived from that light of nature which is common sense and experience, from the lives and fortunes of men in past ages, and from our own and others' experience in the present. Though men in all ages have by instinct acted on this knowledge to improve their fortunes, it had not been gathered and methodized for practical use, only because it had been hitherto thought an ordinary and common matter.

Such was the bulk and mass of this knowledge, said Bacon in *The Advancement of Learning* (p. 164), that 'an end is hardlier made than a beginning', and the bare precepts of the architecture he had set down were 'far from complete tractates' but only 'small pieces for patterns'. Signifi-

[19] Page xxviii: 'These Essays in their method and form are simply the turning of his system of investigating Nature upon Humanity and Society'. This statement seems contradicted on the previous page by Arber's assertion that the *Essays* 'formed no essential part of his work; they entered not into his conception of the proficiency and advancement of knowledge'.

cantly, in the *De augmentis* (p. 604), Bacon again spoke of his precepts as but 'sketches', but omitted the thought that a beginning had not been made. That beginning, we may assume, was the *Essays*.

Nearly three-quarters of all the *Essays, or Counsels Civil and Moral* pertain strictly to that mixed moral and civil knowledge which Bacon called negotiation or 'the wisdom of business . . . wherein man's life is most conversant'.[20] Twenty-nine or exactly half of the essays may be said to discourse directly on that aspect of particular negotiation, the pressing of one's own fortune.[21]

Eight of these essays, indexes to Bacon's own political ambitions and foreshadowing the subject of *faber fortunae*, appeared in rudimentary form in the 1597 edition.[22] The rewriting and expanding of that first collection of essays ('fragments of my conceites', he had called them) appears to have begun about 1607, two years after the publication of *The Advancement of Learning*. The composition of the *Novum organum*, interestingly enough, probably did not begin until 1608.[23] The essay 'Of Honour and Reputation' was omitted in the edition of 1612, but for that edition the other seven were considerably revised and fourteen new essays on policy appeared for the first time.[24]

The intimate connection with *The Advancement of Learning* of the *Essays* of 1612 has been demonstrated by Professor Crane, who reads the essays in both the 1612 and 1625 editions as the 'partial fulfilment' of the deficiencies Bacon had noted in moral and civil knowledge in the

[20] The exceptions are the essays upon projects ('Of Plantations', 'Of Usury', 'Of Building', 'Of Gardens', 'Of Judicature'), the advice to princes ('Of Nobility', 'Of Seditions and Troubles', 'Of Empire', 'Of Counsel', 'Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates', 'Of Faction'), and the unclassifiable ('Of Prophecies', 'Of Masques and Triumphs', 'Of Vicissitude of Things').

[21] 'Of Simulation and Dissumulation', 'Of Envy', 'Of Great Place', 'Of Boldness', 'Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature', 'Of Delays', 'Of Cunning', 'Of Wisdom for a Man's Self', 'Of Innovations', 'Of Dispatch', 'Of Seeming Wise', 'Of Friendship', 'Of Expense', 'Of Regiment of Health', 'Of Suspicion', 'Of Discourse', 'Of Riches', 'Of Ambition', 'Of Nature in Men', 'Of Custom and Education', 'Of Fortune', 'Of Negotiating', 'Of Followers and Friends', 'Of Studies', 'Of Ceremonies and Respects', 'Of Praise', 'Of Vain-glory', 'Of Honour and Reputation', 'Of Anger'.

[22] 'Of Expense', 'Of Regiment of Health', 'Of Discourse', 'Of Negotiating', 'Of Followers and Friends', 'Of Studies', 'Of Ceremonies and Respects', 'Of Honour and Reputation'.

[23] Arber, p. xl; *Bacon's Novum organum*, ed. T. Fowler (2d ed., Oxford, 1889), p. 3.

[24] 'Of Fortune', 'Of Great Place', 'Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature', 'Of Cunning', 'Of Wisdom for a Man's Self', 'Of Dispatch', 'Of Seeming Wise', 'Of Friendship', 'Of Riches', 'Of Ambition', 'Of Nature in Men', 'Of Custom and Education', 'Of Praise', 'Of Vain-glory'.

earlier work.[25] Bacon himself, using the key phrase of the doctrine of advancement, verified the connection in a letter he wrote just prior to the publication of the *Essays* of 1612, saying that in them were handled 'those things wherein both men's lives and their pens [persons?] are most conversant', and that they were 'of a nature whereof a man shall find much in experience, and little in books'.[26] In the 1625 edition, besides revisions and enlargements of all the foregoing essays, the seven titles bearing on *faber fortunae* first appeared.[27]

The evolution of the *Essays* in the successive editions from mere collections of juxtaposed maxims to, in Bacon's words, 'active and ample descriptions and observations', was principally the result of his change of purpose. Like that of the *Novum organum*, the principal object of the *Essays* was to enlarge the dominion of man, by increasing his knowledge of nature—human nature in this case—and his power over it. It is for this reason the *Essays* 'come home to men's business and bosoms'.

As we know, Bacon's counsel on fortune and men in the *Essays* came increasingly out of his own observations and experiences as a rising politician. In addition to his own experience, he drew on that found in the histories, biographies, and letters of men, as well as that general wisdom which he had collected in commonplace books, to appear briefly in *The Advancement of Learning* and more completely in the *De augmentis* under the headings of 'Colours of Good and Evil' or sophisms of private discourse, antitheses or store of commonplaces, and the proverbs of Solomon with his explications of them (see p. 593). Exemplifying these axioms with instances and then reducing these particular instances and observations to general principles, he had formed his precepts in *The Advancement of Learning* for the doctrine concerning advancement in life or 'wisdom of foresight for one's own fortunes', and out of both principles and instances composed the *Essays*.

That the *Essays* only in the last English revision became what Bacon intended them, elaborations of the directions on morality and policy in *The Advancement of Learning*, seems evident in the subtitle, 'Counsels Civil and Moral', first appended in the edition of 1625. If earlier Bacon

[25] Ronald S. Crane, 'The Relation of Bacon's *Essays* to his Program for the Advancement of Learning', *Schelling Anniversary Papers* (New York, 1923), p. 89; see pp. 88–94.

[26] Dedicatory letter to Henry, Prince of Wales, in *Works*, ed. Spedding et al., XI, 340. Cf. *Works*, ed. Robertson, pp. 150, 581.

[27] 'Of Simulation and Dissimulation', 'Of Envy', 'Of Boldness', 'Of Delays', 'Of Innovation', 'Of Suspicion', 'Of Anger'.

had thought of the *Essays* as 'fragments of my conceites', then as 'recreations of my other studies', in their final form, in Latin, they had become among 'the best fruits' of 'my pen and labours' (p. 735). As Bacon intended the *Novum organum* to show the way to mastery over nature, so, at least in Samuel Pepys' eyes, he intended the *Essays* and other pieces of the 'Faber fortunae' to show the way to mastery over fortune and men.

III

Besides the 'Faber fortunae' editions of the *Sermones fideles* published at Leyden in 1641, 1644, and 1659, one of which Pepys owned, it was also published at Amsterdam in 1662 and 1685, as well as printed in the folio edition of Bacon's *Opera omnia* at Frankfort in 1665. There appear to have been no further editions of this form of the *Sermones fideles* after 1685, although I have not examined the six *Opera omnia* published between 1684 and 1730 at Amsterdam, Leipzig, and Copenhagen, nor Blackbourne's edition printed in London, 1730, to see whether the *faber fortunae* element is distinguished in them as it is in the Frankfort edition. Instead, I intend to turn now to the attitude of Bacon's annotators and biographers towards this feature in his works.

It is easier to find analogues of the 'Faber fortunae' in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than to discover commentary on either its intelligence or its ethics. Prevailing opinion in the eighteenth century tended to reject the severe view of human nature held by Hobbes, Mandeville, and Hume, yet it found no fault with Bacon's *Essays*. Addison and Steele, whose familiarity with them is everywhere apparent in their periodicals, nowhere remark on their import. David Mallet, in his *Life of Bacon* (1740, pp. 117–118), would seem to have merited Dr. Johnson's poor opinion of that work for his comment on the *Essays* alone:

> His Essays have, of all his works, been most current, and are still very justly esteemed . . . Monsieur *de Voltaire* observes, that they have been less popular than the Maxims of *Rochefoucault*, or the Essays of *Montagne*. A remark that does my Lord *Bacon* honour; who was too great a Man to court a reputation from the multitude, by sacrificing to that malignity, or indulging that curious extravagance, which too many readers, I am afraid, expect to find gratified, even in writings of a moral kind.

Dr. Johnson, who had not read Bacon until he began work on his *Dictionary*, is perhaps the first in the century to state unequivocally the fidelity of the *Essays* to human nature as it is.[28]

[28] *Rambler* 106, 23 March 1751 (*Johnsonian Miscellanies*, ed. G. B. Hill, Oxford, 1897, II, 229).

In their commentaries on *The Advancement of Learning*, the *De augmentis*, or the *Essays*, nineteenth-century editors and biographers of Francis Bacon either ignored the *faber fortunae* element in these works, as did James Spedding in his prefaces, or if they took notice of it, derogated it. No editor or biographer that I know mentioned Pepys' great interest in it. Our own century has been little more interested or helpful.[29]

Cursory recognition of the fortune treatise appeared in P. E. and E. F. Matheson's *Bacon, Selections* (Oxford, 1924), which, though it omitted the essay 'Of Fortune', included two brief passages from *The Advancement of Learning* entitled 'To prevail in Fortune' and 'Knowledge of Men'. Commenting on these in the introduction, they said: 'To Bacon, as to the Italian, life is very much a question of Fortuna and of Virtù, the power which lies in skill and sheer ability unfettered by morals' (p. xi). Bacon's works everywhere reveal, they said elsewhere, 'a noble ideal of learning and science . . . inextricably blended with the instinct and the arts of self-advancement' (p. xiv).

The moral tone of the *Essays*, so much discussed in the nineteenth century, does not seem to have been seriously questioned in Bacon's century or the next. Many reasons may be adduced for this delayed reaction, including the fluctuating interest in Bacon and his works in those centuries, the available knowledge of Bacon's life and times, and, above all, the changing moral climate. In his own age, detractors of Bacon were few compared with his friends, particularly in and around the Royal Society in the latter part of the century. Through the society, Bacon was identified primarily with the new experimental philosophy. Although the *Essays* were much printed and were the inspiration of such worldly, even cynical, books of advice and conduct as Francis Osborne's *Advice to a Son* (1656–1658), William Ramsay's *Gentleman's Companion* (1672), and Josiah Dare's *Counsellor Manners his Last Legacy to his Son* (1673), they created no stir like that of the new philosophy. Many of the subjects of Osborne, Ramsay, and Dare, as well as their attitudes, derive directly from the *Essays*. The age accepted these works, as it did Montaigne's essays, without comment, and Pepys' reaction to

[29] In their editions of the *Essays*, neither Montagu (1836, 1845), Taylor (1840, Knight's English Classics), Devey (1852, Bohn ed. of Bacon's *Moral and Historical Works*), Whately (1856), Wright (1862, Golden Treasury Ser.), Singer (1868), Arber (1871, English Reprints), Selby (1889), Reynolds (Oxford, 1890), Lee (1905, Methuen's Standard Library), Smeaton (1906, Everyman's Library), Northup (1908, Riverside College Classics), Gay (1921), nor Jones (1937) has remarked on the place of the *Essays* in Bacon's treatise on fortune and men.

the *Sermones fideles* containing the *faber fortunae* treatises was singular only in that he recorded the existence of the work.

In the next age, as I have shown elsewhere,[30] Bacon as natural philosopher was almost forgotten in the general approbation of him as sage and moral philosopher. The century chose to read the *Essays* as a separate entity, finding in balanced antitheses sound arguments for moral study and reflection and in Bacon's illustrations and observations apt quotations. Blake's comment on the *Essays*, 'Good Advice for Satan's Kingdom', was the exception.

The scholarship of the nineteenth century made the life and works of Bacon better known than they had ever been before, and for the first time the *Essays*, along with *The Advancement of Learning* and Bacon's other works, were read and scrutinized not only for their observations on human nature but for clues to the character of Bacon. As a result, Bacon became the center of a prolonged literary storm, and biography after biography of him was written to defend or defame his stature as one of the great English sages and as natural and moral philosopher. Taking no cognizance of the place of the essays in the total scheme of *The Advancement of Learning* and the *De augmentis*, of the nature and stages of composition of the *Essays*, Victorian detractors of Bacon nevertheless perceived the connection between the *Essays* and the treatises of self-advancement and in high moral indignation read these works as a complete self-portrait of their author. But whether considered simply as counsels civil and moral, or as improving studies in the moral science of man, as annotated 'texts for a moral class-book', or as one of the English classics, the popularity of Bacon's *Essays* has never been in question in the four centuries of its printing history.

IV

In Bacon's 'perambulation of learning' in the second book of *The Advancement of Learning*, there seems little doubt that the doctrine concerning the culture of the mind, as central to his inquiry into human philosophy and centering around the concept of advancement in life, was the counterpart of the doctrine of experiment in natural philosophy. Bacon himself insisted on the analogy between civil and natural knowledge and the necessity of describing for each the nature of the problem and

[30] 'Francis Bacon in Early Eighteenth-Century English Literature', forthcoming in *PQ*.

'prescribing rules how to subdue, apply, and accommodate' (pp. 134, 563). The analogy was made quite clear in his statement on

> the two parts of natural philosophy,—the Inquisition of Causes, and the Production of Effects; Speculative, and Operative; Natural Science, and Natural Prudence. For as in civil matters there is a wisdom of discourse and a wisdom of direction; so it is in natural (p. 92).

And elsewhere he spoke of 'the *knowledge of ourselves*' as being 'the end and term of natural philosophy in the intention of man' (p. 101). That Bacon believed human nature to be as readily reducible to axiom and aphorism as physical nature is clear from his statement in *The Advancement of Learning* (p. 155) that he was setting down these precepts concerning human behavior 'lest it should seem to any that it is not comprehensible by axiom'.

It would appear more than conjecture that Bacon intended a separate work, comparable to the *Novum organum*, on the operative parts of moral and civil knowledge. He as much as says so in comparing his intended description of the politic man with Cicero's portrait of the orator, Machiavelli's prince, and Castiglione's courtier (p. 604). When it could not be done, he had to be content with an elaboration of those parts in the *De augmentis* and with their final exposition in the *Essays*. Significantly, in *The Advancement of Learning*, having given a number of precepts and operative illustrations on the architecture of fortune, he apologizes for having gone beyond speculation: 'But I continue this beyond the measure of an example' (p. 164). This apology does not appear in the *De augmentis*, where he expanded this section on precepts and other operative parts on which he desired larger discourse, as the colors of good and evil, the antitheses, and the aphorisms of Solomon. Thus it may be said that in the editions of the *Sermones fideles* which Pepys read, that separate work Bacon intended came closest to fulfilment.

As such, it represents an event in intellectual history. It was a new work, as Bacon said, only in that its materials had not hitherto been deliberately collected and reduced to writing. The application of a knowledge of human nature to practical use and personal benefit had, of course, been long known and practised, but Bacon, in seeking to make this knowledge 'comprehensible by axiom', was pointing to the necessity of applying the same scientific methodology to human nature that he insisted must be applied to physical nature if a further advancement of learning was to be achieved.

In the general concern with Bacon's influence on the formative period

of modern science, only minor attention has been paid to his contribution to modern psychology. To what degree, for example, Thomas Hobbes, the friend and secretary of Bacon, was indebted to the *De augmentis* and *Essays* for the first discourse of his *Tripos, on Humane Nature, or the Fundamental Elements of Policy* (1650), and for the first part of his *Leviathan* (1651) has not been determined. Of the major empiricists, Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, who built on the psychology advanced by Bacon, only Hume specifically acknowledged 'my Lord Bacon', who along with 'some late philosophers in England . . . have begun to put the science of man on a new footing'.[31] Bacon's contributions to the new psychology remain to be studied further.

But the new psychology as such was beyond the range of young Pepys' interests in 1661, although in the form of the 'Faber fortunae' it was immediate. We are told that at Cambridge Pepys 'read widely, admired Roman virtues and Greek dialectics, and thought himself a philosopher because he could . . . quote with feeling Epictetus' axiom—"τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν" [some things are in our power, others are not]'.[32] Twice while preoccupied with his reading of the 'Faber fortunae', Pepys copied this sentence, a favorite also with Bacon, into his diary.[33]

Few lives of record illustrate better than Pepys' the possibility of living by precepts and axioms, and achievement of the rewards promised in them. In this he far surpassed his preceptor. Faced with the necessity of making a living in London at the very hour when church and state were resuming with vigor their offices lost in the late civil war, Pepys conformed to the character of the times in which he lived, made himself indispensable to his royalist superiors, and, as he reported each New Year's Day, steadily advanced in fortune, honor, and accomplishments.

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[31] Introd. to *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1738), in *The Philosophical Works of David Hume* (Edinburgh, 1826), I, 8–9. In a note, Hume listed the 'late philosophers' as Locke, Shaftesbury, Mandeville, Hutchinson, and Butler.

[32] Arthur Bryant, *Samuel Pepys: the Man in the Making* (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 24–25.

[33] *Diary*, 9 September 1662, 17 January 1663; *Works*, ed. Robertson, pp. 565, 572.

Philalgia in Warwickshire

F. M. Van Helmont's Anatomy of Pain Applied to Lady Anne Conway

AMONG the anomalies of the mind of Francis Mercury Van Helmont none is more striking than the deviation from contemporary medical theory which led him to formulate his 'anatomy of pain'. Van Helmont's theory of the nature of pain is outlined in the British Museum MS. Sloane 530, variously referred to as 'Observations' and 'Autobiographical Memoires'. A fuller statement and application of his theory appears in a Latin poem found among the papers of John Locke, a poem of special interest to students of the Cambridge Platonists because of its dedication to Lady Anne, Viscountess Conway, friend and correspondent of Henry More. The manuscript, now in the Bodleian Library, listed as MS. Locke c. 32, fol. 47, contains 135 lines which are clearly legible, seven lines being illegible because of abrasion of the paper.

The name of Henry More comes first to mind as the possible author of a Latin poem dedicated to Lady Anne. He was Lady Conway's close friend and he was a poet. Two circumstances, however, point away from him. More's principal poetic work was accomplished in the years before his friendship with Anne Conway. He was twenty-seven when his *Psychozoia* came from the press, and the complete collection of his philosophical poems appeared in 1647, two years before his first letter to his young friend at Kensington House.

A further factor pointing away from More as author of the Locke MS. is the absence of the theme in More's writing after he knew Van Helmont and might have accepted his theories on pain. The only work in which More considers a medical theme is 'Circulatio Sanguinis', 106 lines in Latin inscribed 'Ad celeberrimum Medicum G.Harvaeum Inventorem' and printed in *Carmina quaedam*, published in the year of Lady Conway's death.[1]

[1] *The Philosophical Poems of Henry More*, ed. Geoffrey Bullough, p. 169.

But a more likely author of the poem is Van Helmont himself. The handwriting of a letter to John Locke dated at London 2 October 1693 and signed 'your loving friend F. M. V. Helmont'[2] has points of identity with the script of the Latin poem. Much stronger than the evidence of handwriting, however, is that of the ideas, which point to Van Helmont as the author.

Before examining the poem as an exposition of Van Helmont's anatomy of pain applied to the Viscountess Conway, we may review the circumstances which brought the Belgian physician and philosopher into the circle of the Cambridge Platonists.

When her friendship with Henry More began, Lady Anne was in her eighteenth year, living at Kensington House (now Kensington Palace) with her mother, widow of Sir Heneage Finch, recorder of London and speaker of the House of Commons. Her frequent and severe headaches had presented a medical problem which her kinsman, one of England's great physicians, Dr. William Harvey, had not been able to solve.

In the letter which opened the long correspondence, 1650–1679, between Henry More and Anne Conway, More expressed his concern over the severe headaches from which she suffered.

> I question not but your Ladiship remembers the old caution I gave you, to engage your thoughts [in the study of Descartes' new book] no further then will make also for the advantage of the health of your body.[3]

Almost every letter which passed between the Cambridge thinker and his young 'pupil' and correspondent through the years contains reference to some aspect of the oppression of pain which she endured. Even when More writes of a new remedy, he admits the hopelessness created by the long series of failures. In 1664 he wrote of the 'good efficacy Coffy has for taking away of the headache', but even while suggesting the wonderful new drug, he recognized the power of the pain it was to combat: 'But this malady has non-pluss'd so many Physicians and medicines, that it makes a man have a little heart to propose any thing.'[4]

Her marriage, 11 February 1651, to Edward Conway, journeys to Ragley Hall, his seat in Warwickshire, and to his estates in Ireland brought no remission of her symptoms. She went to France for the trepan operation which Harvey advocated but apparently feared to per-

[2] This letter is Bodleian Library MS. Locke c. 11. MS. Sloane 530 is in a copyist's hand or the hand of Dr. D. Foote, who translated it from the Dutch.

[3] *Conway Letters*, ed. Marjorie Hope Nicolson (1930), p. 51.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 231.

form[5] and submitted to hydrotherapy with negative results.[6] She survived the birth of a child, after whose death, at the age of 32 months, her 'redoubled tribulation' held her in continuous bondage.

After Valentine Greatrakes, the 'great Irish Stroaker' with a brilliant record of cures, had come to England at Lord Conway's invitation, January 1665, he left his patient at Ragley Hall no better than he had found her. In the aftermath of this conspicuous failure, Lord Conway may have permitted his wife to undergo the desperate remedy of salivation. Dr. Thomas Willis describes the treatment as applied to 'a certain noble Lady for the curing of a cruel and continual Headache . . . for afterward for many years . . . the disease being by degrees increased, she suffer'd under its heavy Tyranny'.[7]

As early as 1653 Lord Conway had asked his wife's brother, Sir John Finch, who was traveling in Italy, to inquire into the possibility of inducing Van Helmont to come to England to apply his fabulous medical skill to the curing of Lady Anne's malady. Sir John responded with two letters filled with gossip about Van Helmont's reputation and achievements and the disheartening conclusion that his skill was exerted more successfully in the treatment of fevers than in the mysterious disease suffered by Lady Anne.[8] Lord Conway's hope of bringing the famous continental physician to minister to his wife had to wait many years for its fulfilment.

Van Helmont arrived in England in the autumn of 1670 as confidential agent from the royal family of the Palatinate to the court of Charles II. On 13 October More wrote to Lady Conway that 'young Van Helmont' had come to Cambridge to visit him, 'having letters for me out of Germany'.

> I was resolv'd I would not stirre till I had spok'n with Van Helmont in reference to your Ladiship, that I might give you an account of his being in England, and that you may see if he can do you any good.[9]

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[5] There is no evidence that the operation was performed. A pass was granted for travel to the continent. There are several references to the journey to France, but no reference to the actual surgery.

[6] Sir John Finch, writing to his sister 9 April 1653, remarked that the 'experiment of water falling upon your head, since you found no good in it it was well desisted from' (*Letters*, p. 79).

[7] *The Remaining Medical Works of that Famous and Renowned Physician Dr. Thomas Willis* (1683), p. 134.

[8] *Letters*, pp. 84 ff.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 323.

Although Van Helmont was pressed for time, 'his staying in England being so short, not above a month',[10] he agreed to go to Ragley Hall to study the case which had defeated all physicians and resisted all remedies.

By 19 November news of hope had come from Ragley Hall.

I am hartily glad to hear that Monsieur Van Helmont gives us some hopes concerning my good Lady, in that he doth not think hir incurable. I pray the Lord in mercy direct and guide him and Dr. Rugeley to such a course as may effectually tend to hir safe recovery.[11]

That Anne Conway had captured the attention of Van Helmont in more than purely medical aspects is indicated by her husband's comment to his brother-in-law, Sir George Rawdon. Writing from London on 12 December, Conway suggests his attitude of hope tempered by disappointment over Van Helmont's failure to achieve an immediate improvement in his wife's condition.

All that I can say of Van Helmont's success with my wife is, that she hath gained upon him so far, as that he will do for her all that is in his power; he hath sent into Germany for medicines for her and will return to her as soon as his business will permit.[12]

The rest of the story is well known. All the knowledge and medical skill which the gifted physician brought to Lady Conway failed to control the pain which had oppressed her so long and relentlessly. Failing to achieve victory over her pain, Van Helmont remained with Lady Conway as physician-in-residence and intellectual companion for the remaining nine years of her life. Together they shared philosophical and religious experiences; their Platonic relationship was the more remarkable for the ever-present pain which she must suffer and he must help her to endure. Except for brief journeys to London and the continent, the Belgian physician remained at Ragley Hall, loved and respected by Lady Anne, Lord Conway, and Henry More. His final service was the construction of a lead coffin with a pane of glass in the cover in which he preserved Lady Anne's body in 'spirits of wine' until her husband might come home from Ireland to look again upon her face.

When Francis Mercury Van Helmont was referred to by More as 'young Van Helmont', he suffered no indignity. Jan Baptista Van Hel-

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 324. F. Howpert, one of Lord Conway's secretaries, responds in this manner to a letter from Conway, apparently written at Ragley. Howpert's name is listed as one of three servants on the pass issued on 30 November 1653 'for Edward Conway and Anne his wife to go beyond seas' *Cal. S.P.Dom. 1653–54*, p. 445. It is assumed that the pass was part of the plan for a journey to France for the operation recommended by Dr. Harvey.

[12] *Letters*, p. 326.

mont's name was known and his achievements were discussed in every court in Europe; his books were issued by many continental presses. Rumor attributed possession of his father's secrets in medicine, alchemy, philosophy to the son, but the son evolved a theory of pain which owed nothing to the heritage from Jan Baptista.

His anatomy of pain as recorded in Sloane MS. 530 grew from Van Helmont's interpretation of his own encounters with pain. He describes what was doubtless a 'common cold', contracted at the court of the Elector Palatine when he slept in a recently plastered, inadequately heated room, developing a severe cough.

> ... and I was fain to lie up in bed because it hindering me from my sleep, and the cough wasting me, I got an aversion for the cough. Upon this I began to reflect whether I did well in having an aversion, and so went about to consider whether my cough was so bad that I ought to have an aversion for it, or whether my aversion which I had for the cough was good in all regards, and having most exactly anatomised it, so that as I hated it before on all accounts, I did now love it so much, in particular I found it good in discovering the enemy that was within: and no sooner had I conceived this love for the cough, which by my aversion I had shut up in my self, being by my love set at liberty, I fell asleep ... and I found myself perfectly cured.

A further exposition of his experience with pain followed Van Helmont's account of an injury he suffered when his left shoulder was struck by the branches of a great tree felled by unskillful woodmen. He was carried home in a coach and immediately ordered a poultice to be made of the sawdust of the tree whose branch had caused his injury mixed with flour and wine. In spite of the efficacy of the poultice,

> I knew it was upon the least motion of parts of the broken bones jarred against one another which was a very sensible pain, and gave me a contrariety or aversion against it, and having made a thorough anatomy of pain in all its parts, I found that pain was nothing but my own life, excited or inflamed for my own good, and having found that it was really so, I began to love the pain, and after this every time that I felt the pain such joy followed upon it that ... after some days I felt a great joy and found myself completely cured.

In a section of the manuscript devoted to anatomical and medical notes, Van Helmont, speaking as a physician, emphasizes the necessity of preparing the mind of the patient for the approach of pain or death. He counsels physicians to consider most carefully the mental and emotional factors which frequently condition the patient to resist the efforts of the physician. He believed that fear is the great impediment to healing. He cites cases in which 'the apprehension is so obstinately imprinted that it proves difficult and almost impossible to remove the fever'.

In his published works Van Helmont's theory of the love of pain as a

principle of healing is further elucidated. Fifteen years after the death of Lady Conway, his *Spirit of Diseases* summarized his belief, confirmed by many years of experience with many patients in many lands.

When we thus consider Sickness as conducive to our good and profit, and according to the Intimation it affords us, change our former Course of living; then the Fright or Apprehension, which caused the Disorder, ceaseth, and on the contrary, a Joy and Delight ariseth in us, because it points us to what is defective in us. Now that this Joy and Patience, is a certain Remedy against Diseases is evident; for when we are by Patience come to a Union and Agreement with the thing that at first awakened the Fright, or other Passions in us, it of necessity follows, that the Fright or Passion whatsoever it be must be changed, because we now love and are perfectly reconciled to that thing which was the Object of our Fear, so that our Former Fright or other Passion is now changed into Love and Goodliking; which Love and Complacency, being opposite to the former Fear and Apprehension, must by consequence change our Sickness into Health; for the same reason that the Fright and Aversion changed the due and orderly Operation of Nature into Disorder or Sickness.[13]

The originality of Van Helmont's anatomy of pain may be clearly indicated by contrast with John Locke's attitude toward pain, an attitude which may be regarded as standard from Job to our mid-century:

Yet we have so great an abhorrence of pain, that a little of it extinguishes all our pleasures: a little bitter mingled in our cup leaves no relish of the sweet . . . and our whole endeavors and thoughts are intent to get rid of the present evil before all things, as the first necessary condition to our happiness, let what will follow.[14]

However they may be blurred by translation, the figures of speech in the poem carry the reader's memory to the same or similar figures in Van Helmont's *Cabbalistical Dialogue* (1682), *Paradoxal Discourses* (1685), *Two Hundred Queries* (1684), *Seder Olam* (1694). The picture of Christ bringing Pain by the hand is well known to every student of Van Helmont. The nature of the relation of the human body to pain as suggested in the Latin poem is a theme which became almost a 'signature' for Van Helmont's philosophical and medical theories as presented in his published works.

If not the work of Van Helmont's own pen, the poem at least offers a striking application of his anatomy of pain, allegorically presented, to the case which occupied his attention for nine years and influenced the theorizing of the Cambridge Platonists as they explored the relationships between the spiritual and physical aspects of the life of man.

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[13] *The Spirit of Diseases* (London, 1694), pp. 192–193.
[14] *Works* (London, 1812), III, 263.

APPENDIX[15]

A Honoratissimam atque Illustrissimam Dominam Annam vice comitissam Conway et Kalulta de Amore Dolorum

Juste Pater, quem cuncta timent, qui sola Dolorum
Causa manes quicunque tuo grassantur in orbe:
Sit mihi fas arcana loqui quae pandere mundus
Non valet; ut pateat divini semita Regni
Unica quam dignis quondam proponere membris
Ipse suis voluit Natus, Crux nempe malorum
Purgatrix, Animae Nutrix, medicina salutis.
Sunt etenim quos ista latent, cum corpore morbus
Praevalet et tenebris divinam Passio mentem
Turbat et haud patitur vere cognoscere sensum.
Nec tamen hic stoicis conabor ludere dictis
Quae tantum natura docet: quibus ultima semper
Desunt auxilia, et coelesti flamine praesens
Spiritus a Christo tantum demissus olympo.
Unde quod in tali vincit Patientia morbo,
Tantum opus est hominis, quod stulta supurbia fovet
Neu dedit alma Fides. Igitur mea Dicta tenete
Quos dolor immodica non cessat frangere morsu
Seu morbi vis dira premat, seu vulnere saevo
Membra secet corpusque terat vexetque Tyrannis.
Est inter varias e Christo exorta sorores
Virtus non postrema loco, licet ULTIMA MATRIX
Sed quasi summa gradu cui Diva PHILALGIA nomen
[seven lines illegible]
Paruit haec dictis animo teneramque juventam
Contemplata patris vestigia casta peregit
Iamque aderat tempus quo desponsanda marito
Non tamen Idalias faces dulcesque Hymenaeos
Flagrabat, sed sola poli sperabat. at ardet
Gaudia non carnis sensu sed mente tenenda
Tandem igitur subito Christus demissus ab alto
Summo cum splendore venit dextraque DOLOREM
Adducit, quem flamma VORAX ignisque tegebat
Scintillaeque leves rapidisque incendia gyris.
'Hunc tibi, Nata', inquit, 'juvenem mea dicta sequentem
Connubio jungam firmo propriumque dicabo.
Nec te conturbent ignes nomenque Doloris.
Vita enim dolor est, solidus quam spiritue auget
Aetherea virtute tumens, membrisque vigorem
Accumulant aurae divinae, alimenta ministrant:
Haud aliter quam Pastor agit cum dulcia ludens
Contra conceptis utrem sufflatibus urget.

[15] The text of the poem from MS. Locke c. 32, fol. 47, followed by an English translation. The manuscript is part of the Locke papers acquired by the Bodleian in 1947.

Tum pellis turgente sinu sub flamine vivit
Atque repercussam per sylvas provocat auram.
Sed dolor ut cessat recidunt torpentia membra
Vara suo et languore jacent, neruosque remittunt
Vitaque neglectas reptat miseranda sub umbras.
Praeparat ad vitam et superam Dolor atque relaxat
Terraestrem mentis cursum melioraque fingit
Viscera et intentus vitae subtilia reddit
Organa crystallique jubet radiare nitore.
Namque velut cineres sabulumque excoctae carnis
Deposita terra specie pellucida praebent
Vitra serenati facies imitantia coeli:
Sic hominis natura micat cum flamma dolorum
Ingruit et terram ingruentibus exuit umbris.
Unde nec aethereus patet accedentibus Hortus
Edenisque aditus nisi flamma ignisque moretur
Sublimes animas coelestia regna petentes.
Hinc animis duro hoc crescit tentamine virtus
Et vigor ingenii summa et sapientia mentem
Elevat exurgitque gradu sublimior omni
Contemplata polum speculatio digna Deorum
Alloquiis, coelique piis secreta includens.
Haec adeo est via sacra crucis, quae limina pandit
Solae boni mentemque parans ad jussa superni
Numinis obsequium docet et coelestibus aptat
Nexibus atque Dei constantem amoribus unit.
Cessat enim quod prava jubet suadetque cupido
Quodque homini proprium divino exuritur Igne.
Ceu flammis impura nocens foetura metallis
Atque leves paleae vannus cum grana repurgat.'
Illa sed exorto malis pudefacta rubore:
'Quic quid altissima dederis, Bone Rector, ab arce
Perplacet; haud etenim Terrae res rara, dolores:
Frumentum fasces feriunt: calcantur et uvae:
Ferrum lina parat dentatum, ignisque metallum:
Exuit et silvestrem animum quod stipite surgit
Inculto insertum docte scrobibusue subactum:
Brassica transpositis crescit quasi mortua plantis
Et mediae morti mandata puerpera gignit.
Sic quoque paganos docuit cum porticus istam
Applicitus lecto coluit Posidoniuis artem
Spartanusque puer: dextram quoque Scaevola perdens
Et cui pruna manum stanti combussit ad aram.
Caesaris atque pugil quidam: pilaque minutus
Durus Anaxarchus: quondam stoicique frequentes
At si gentili Dolor, haud malus extitit ulli,
Quid faciet sumni sectatus Dogma Magistri?
Quique ego Nata Dei renuam?' sed subjicit ille:
'Non haec te moveant terena exempla Dolorum
Nec si quid Natura refert: majora petuntur

Tramite divino, ac omnes superantia vires.
Non etenim quem sola regit Natura dolendo
Abnegat humanae totus conamina mentis
Qua rapitur mea recta via: Patientia multo
Linquitur ima gradu cum quis gaudere malorum
Agmine vult hostesque suos adamare dolores.
Enthea vis fidei prima hic exordia menti
Imprimit: et mox paret homo totusque novatur:
Et propriam spernit vitam mortemque requirit
Non carnis sed carnales quae supprimat actus
Atque imos animae motus: et sanguinis oestrum
Cumque nihil cordi tum sit mentique relictum
Quod proprium est: mens ecce venit solator ab alto
Spiritus et clara torpentia tartara complet
Luce sacram quae praestat opem, viresque ministrat
Quas nullo Mens crassa potest attingere nixu
Tunc oritur nova vita homini quam sancta regignit
Aura Dei, mecum et qua passibus ambulat aequis
Meque refert totum divae sub imagine formae:
Nec tantum suffert, miro sed Amore Dolorum
Flagrat, et aeternas non cessat reddere gratias
Quod tantis sit signa bonis, fructum que reportet
Immeritum: semperque precum suffitibus ardet,
Donec larga Fides coelestia praemia captet.
Haec via nunc adeunda tibi est haec meta laboris
Ista tuo dono furia imminet utque negetur
Notio si qua tui superest naec cuncta requiro.'
Dixerat et junctis confirmat foedera dextris
Connubii votoque sacrat consortia lecti
Mox que penetrantis divina Philalgia sponsi
[illegible]ur Amplexit longoque ardescit in Igne
Laeta suo socio nec ad huc sua friguit ardor.
O vos felices quibus istam Fabula scenam
Instruit in solito que fugat medicamine mortem.
Perdurate toro quem tot Benedictio donis
Summa beat, coeli facient hic vivere vitam.
At tu qui Arentis fons es solusque novator
Rerum Magne Pater tantam da scandere sedem
da fontem vitare mali da ferre dolores
Mox et amare tuos sacra per vestigia Nati.
Ipse fidem Flamenque, tuum, lumenque ministra,
Ut quicquid NOSTRUM est purgato corde negetur
Tu que animas habites solus: Tu namque Dolorum es
Principuum, finis, rector, via, terminus unus.

To the Right Honourable and Distinguished Lady, Anne, Viscountess of Conway and Kalulta, on the Love of Pain

Just Father, whom all things dread, who abide the single cause of all the pain that rages in your globe, may I be allowed to utter those mysteries which the world is not able to disclose; in order that that one and only path to the divine kingdom may be made plain, which once even your son vouchsafed to set forth by means of his own worthy limbs, to wit, the cross, the cleanser of evil, the nurse of the spirit, the medicine of salvation. For indeed there are those who are unaware of these things, when disease overcomes the body and suffering troubles the divine spirit with darkness and does not allow sense to see aright. And yet I am not going to seek here to dally in Stoic maxims, which only nature teaches. They ever want the utmost help and the spirit, at hand with its heavenly breath, which was sent down from Olympus by Christ alone. Wherefore what endurance overcomes in sickness of this kind is but the work of man, which foolish pride fosters and bountiful faith has not vouchsafed. So mark my words, you whom pain continually grinds with its insatiate gnawing, whether the terrible power of disease grips your limbs, or a tyrant slashes them with a savage wound and wears and torments your body.

There is among the diverse sisters sprung from Christ a virtue not least in rank, though last in birth, but nearly the highest in station whose name is divine Philalgia . . . [seven illegible lines, apparently referring to Lady Conway] . . . She obeyed the commands in her soul and her early years she passed chaste, intent upon the example of her father. And now the time had come for her betrothal. Yet she did not hanker for Idalian torches or sweet marriage-songs, but hoped to be adorned of herself. Rather did she yearn for joys not to be known by the senses of the flesh but by the mind. So at length Christ, descending suddenly from on high, came in his full glory bringing pain by the hand, who was clothed in consuming flame and fire and swift circles of blazing heat.

'This youth', he said, 'obedient to my commands, I shall join with you, my daughter, in lasting wedlock and shall consecrate him forever yours. And let not his fires and his name Pain dismay you. For life is pain, which a firm spirit fosters, swelling with ethereal virtue, and diving breezes impart energy to the limbs and supply nourishment, just as the shepherd does when in pleasant sport he exerts pressure against the wine-skin with his deep-drawn puffs. Then the skin, its paunch swollen from the blast, comes alive and produces a sound reëchoed through the forest. But when pain abates, the limbs droop and relapse into torpor; they lie prostrate from their own inertia and loosen their sinews; and life pitifully creeps along in the darkness of indifference. Pain both prepares for the life above and eases the soul's journey on earth: it improves our viscera, zealously refines our organs, and bids them gleam with a crystalline sheen. For just as the ashes and dust of burnt flesh, when the earth has been got rid of, present the appearance of translucent glass that imitates the look of a clear sky: so does man's essence glitter when the flame of pain attacks the earth [earthy part] and divests it of the darkness that besets it. Therefore also the entrance to the ethereal Garden of Eden does not lie open to those who approach it, without flame and fire delaying those lofty spirits that seek the heavenly kingdom. Hence does virtue by this rigorous trial increase in souls, and energy of the natural parts together with the highest wisdom exalts the mind and there rises above all levels to survey the heavens a contemplation worthy of the conversation of the gods and bounding its solitudes with the blessed of heaven. Just so is the holy way of the cross, which alone opens the gates of righteousness, and, in preparation for the commands of the divine will, teaches the mind obedience and fits it to the bonds of heaven and joins it fast to the love of God. For, what base passion bids and

urges, abates, and what belongs to man is consumed by a divine fire: as by fire that foul offspring harmful to metals, and the light chaff, when the winnowing fan separates the grain.'

But she, ashamed by the blush that arises from evil: 'Whatever you have allotted from your citadel most high, Good Ruler, greatly pleases. And indeed, pain is not a scarce thing in the world: rods beat the grain, and grapes, too, are treaded, a spiked iron prepares the flax, as does fire the ore: what springs from an untrained tree, when skilfully ingrafted and tamed by ditches, loses its wild spirit: the nearly lifeless cabbage grows, when its shoots are transplanted, and the woman in labor, herself fully commended to death, gives birth. So too, when the porch taught the heathen world, did the bedridden Posidonius and the Spartan youth observe this practice: so too Scaevola in the destruction of his own right hand: and he whose hand a burning-coal burnt off, as he stood by the altar: and a certain boxer of Caesar's: and the severe Anaxarchus, crushed by a column: and at one time a great host of Stoics. But if pain be not an evil to any pagan, what shall he do who pursues the doctrine of the highest teacher? And how shall I, a daughter of God, disapprove?'

But he replied: 'Let not these earthly examples of pain move you, or anything that nature may recount: greater things are sought by the divine path, and things that surpass all powers. For he who is not guided by nature alone in suffering wholly refuses the struggles of the human mind, and by this way is my right way hastened. Endurance is left far behind at the lowest rung, when one is willing to rejoice in a host of woes and to love his own hostile pains. At this point the divinely inspired power of faith stamps its first beginnings upon the soul: and soon the man submits and is made all new. And he scorns his own life and seeks death, not to put an end to the flesh, but to the acts of the flesh and the lowest passions of the soul and the gadfly of the blood. And when nothing is left, either to his heart or mind, which is his own, behold! a comforting soul comes from on high and a spirit fills motionless Tartarus with clear light that proffers holy succor and furnishes strength which the gross mind cannot gain by any exertion. Then begins for a man new life, which the sacred breath of God begets afresh, and in which he walks with me in equal pace and completely resembles me in the image of my divine form. Not only does he suffer, but he is kindled with a marvelous love of pain, and does not fail to offer eternal thanks that there are signs to such great blessings and that he obtains an undeserved boon: and he burns continually with the cleansing smoke of prayer, while abundant faith longs for her heavenly rewards. Now you must enter upon this path, approach this goal of hardship. This fury here (Philalgia) longs for your gift, and if you yet have any idea of refusing him, I make all this a demand.'

He had spoken, and he solemnised the marriage-compact with clasped hands and hallowed the partnership of the couch by prayer. And later the divine Philalgia embraced the body of her spouse, when he entered, and she was kindled by an enduring fire, nor has her passion yet cooled.

O happy you for whom the play prepares this scene and puts death to flight by means of an uncommon remedy: endure upon that couch which the greatest blessing gladdens with so many gifts: they will make you to live the life of heaven here.

But you, who are the fountain of the thirsty and the only renewer of things, Great Father, let me mount so great a seat, let me shun the source of evil, let me bear pain, and soon love your own children through the holy example of your son. Yourself supply your faith, your heavenly breath, your light, that whatever is ours may be purged from the heart and rejected and that you alone might dwell in our souls. For of pain you are the beginning, the end, the guide, the way, the bound alone.

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